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ABSTRACT

The document presents a report of a February, 1977 conference in Sarasota, Florida, which dealt with local transportation planning and citizen skills. The conference served as a forum for exploring citizen input into issues which had been generated in public meetings, a referendum, the city and county commissions, and hearings before state transportation planners. It was designed to provide dialogue among four types of persons: (1) practitioners of citizen participation skills on all sides of the issue; (2) government officials involved in policy decisions; (3) the general public; and (4) academic humanists from a variety of disciplines. Conference objectives and the program schedule are presented, followed by the bulk of the document, which includes abstracts of papers and remarks offered during the conference. Topics discussed include Sarasota neighborhood characteristics, community change and development, American participatory democracy, federally funded transportation programs, transportation planning in Florida, and Sarasota politics. Appendices include press releases which preceeded the conference and a description of conference handouts. (Author/DB)

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FINAL REPORT

SARASOTA HIGHWAYS AND HUMANS CONFERENCE:
A CONFERENCE ON EFFECTIVE CITIZEN SKILLS
IN TRANSPORTATION PLANNING
Saturday, February 19th, 1977
New College Campus, Sarasota, Florida

Funding Agency:

Florida Endowment for the Humanities
Room 371, LET
University of South Florida, Tampa

Sponsoring Agency:

Orange Avenue/McCleland Avenue Neighborhood Association
Suite 301, 1880 Arlington Street
Sarasota, Florida
Dr. Thomas G. Dickinson, Chairman

Project Director:

Dr. Rodney F. Allen, Director
Environmental Education Project
426 Hull Drive
Florida State University, Tallahassee

Proposal Number: 373

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Sarasota Herald-Tribune

Tues., July 27, 1976

Editorials:

Fight Vehicular Tyranny.

After his son was nearly killed by
a passing truck, a Virginia resident
began a campaign to stop through
traffic from cutting through his
residential neighborhood. And he won.
Jon Jones, writing in the Chris-
ce Monitor, reports on this
uccesses by communities
nt reins back on the
icle is reprinted on

that "busy, noisy stre
been turned into quiet r
neighborhoods where p
need be anxious ab
where walking bic
one's front stoo
downtowns
ets built
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again."
The tyran
be ended.
rebel

INTRODUCTION

The conception of an open, participatory society was an ideal of the Founding Fathers and a dream of the many immigrants who came to America before and after the seedtime of our republic. Today, on the eve of the nation's bicentennial, questions about the extent and efficacy of citizen input on public policy decisions swirl about our basic institutions. On the national level, these questions are most often associated with Watergate. On the state level, the vociferous cries of legislators, both "liberal" and "conservative," focus upon phantom government, unresponsive bureaucracies, and the plethora of "in-triplicate" procedures.

Local government, while a Jeffersonian ideal, is not immune to the labels of "unresponsive" and "insensitive." Citizens wonder about how they can provide meaningful input on local policy decisions. What can be done to increase effective participation? What rules, procedures, and institutions need to be changed to broaden citizen participation? What attitudes of citizens and their officials are dysfunctional to an open, active society? What knowledge and skills do citizens need to gain access to policy formulators and to have an effective voice in government?

A one-day intensive conference was held in Sarasota, Florida, Saturday, February 19, 1977, dealing with a local policy issue and focusing upon citizen skills. Transportation planning in Sarasota was the local issue, which included debates over street widening and debates over what neighborhood development should mean for the city. This policy debate had been conducted in public meetings, a referendum, the city and county commissions, hearings before State transportation planners, and so forth. The debate was a continuing one involving almost all sectors of the population and all levels of government.

"HIGHWAYS AND HUMANS" was designed to provide <u>dialogue</u> among four types of persons: 1) those practitioners of citizen participation skills on all sides of the issue, 2) government officials involved in policy decisions, 3) the general public, and 4) academic humanists from a variety of disciplines (e.g., history, philosophy, speech communication, ethics, and religion). While government officials and civic leaders have taken positions, the thrust of this conference was <u>not</u> to provide a forum for those who agree or disagree. The thrust was to identify the variety of citizen participation skills which are needed to cope with such issues, to see which skills were used (and by whom), and which were effective or found wanting in this situation. The hope was that increasing numbers of citizens, of various persuasions, will get involved in public policy issues and develop their own techniques and skills for affecting decisions.

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CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PERSPECTIVE

From Thomas Jefferson's ideal of a nation of small farmers--independent and self-sufficient--the nation grew. Today, government at the local, state, and national levels is complex and mammoth. The heirs of the early agrarians are not independent and self-sufficient. Rather, they are enmeshed in an intricate web of interrelationships. If the watchword of Jefferson's thought was <u>independence</u>, the watchword today must be <u>interdependence</u>--in economic, social, political, and environmental terms.

Not only has the watchword changed, but the meaning and scope of the word democracy is undergoing reinterpretation. The reasons for such a reinterpretation are many: *

> ...Life has become more complex, society more fragmented, our next door neighbors strangers.
>
> ...The functions of government have multiplied and expanded beyond many citizens' control and comprehension.
>
> ...Cleavages of race, class, age, interest, and region seem to threaten the very foundations of our national being.
>
> ...An urban, industrial society has at once rendered existence impersonal, and challenged the meaning of our institutional system and of personal existence itself.
>
> ...The radical expansion of governmental functions, powers and programs requires redefinition of the meaning of genuine enfranchisement in a democracy.
>
> ...Increased expertise, specialization and professionalism all pose a peculiar threat to a democratic credo which rejects government by an elite and vests ultimate authority in the citizen <u>qua</u> citizen.

In classical democratic theory, citizen participation in political affairs is vital, first for an individual's self-improvement, second as a primary means of protecting his self-interest, and third as a way of building a sense of community. Classical democrats believed that through universal citizen participation a general will of all the people would emerge, and thus, government would develop policies and programs on popular consensus.

* Modified from Edgar S. and Jean Camper Cahn, "Maximum Feasible Participation: A General Overview," in CITIZEN PARTICIPATION (Trenton, N.J.: Community Action Training Institute, n.d.), P.7 Not copyrighted.

Many advocates of increased citizen participation retain this belief in a consensus model of American politics. However, other advocates of citizen participation reject the idea of consensus (a single general will of the people) as utopian. Instead, they accept a conflict model of politics wherein the political process is a matter of constantly managing or resolving inevitable conflicts among the many interests in a pluralistic society. There is no assumption of a general will to be discovered or developed, but there are many conflicting "wills." Citizen participation does not seek a general consensus, but a balance of power on particular policies and programs. Citizen participation is a way of helping individuals to gain power over those factors affecting the quality of their lives.

In the 1960s, under the ageis of the "New Frontier" and the "Great Society," Federal programs incorporated "citizen participation" mandates into guidelines and programs. Political leaders and public administrators saw at least four values in citizen participation:

1. A means of mobilizing unutilized resources (a source of talent, productivity, and labor not otherwise tapped);

2. A source of knowledge (a means of securing feedback regarding policy and programs and a source of new, innovative approaches);

3. A means of legitimatizing policies and programs (a way to secure support for policies and programs, and to build constituencies); and

4. An end in itself (an affirmation of democracy and the elimination of the alienation of many citizens from the political process).

Today government agencies at all levels include "citizen participation" advisory committees, public hearings, and other mechanisms to involve individuals in the process. But citizen participation is not an end, but a means to citizen power, e.g., having an effective voice in decision-making and in the administration of programs, or perhaps controlling those programs. Participation is linked to power, and perhaps to control.

At the governmental policy-making level an issue is the amount of citizen participation and influence of citizens paying the costs and those receiving the benefits. In a representative democracy, citizens select individuals to do the policy-making and hold them accountable at elections. This process has been supplemented by "blue ribbon committees" and "citizen advisory groups," appointed by officials, who are drawn from traditional leadership organizations, but who do not have a clearly defined constituency or a direct line of accountability to citizens. In addition, many individuals and groups are left out of the process when such committees and groups are appointed.

For example, in highway planning, county officials represent all residents in a system which assumes that "each citizen counts as one" and that decisions are made to reflect majority opinion. However, the implementation of these assumptions is difficult. If in a county of 100,000 persons, 5,000 attend a public meeting and speak against a highway widening project, what can the County Commission infer about

the position of the 95,000 who did not attend? In a county, the majority position might favor a street widening project, for the majority get the benefits of more time-efficient travel. But what of those protesting residents in established neighborhoods who will be adversely affected by the street widening? Should their interests count for more since they are absorbing the social costs, or do we assume that "each one counts as one?"

Conflicts between majority opinion and minority interests and conflicts between the "common good" and individual interests are difficult to resolve fairly based upon the "each one counts as one" assumption of the democratic process. This problem is further complicated when social and economic power yields more influence for some interests, as is often reflected in the appointment of citizen advisory committees and "blue ribbon commissions."

At the agency administrative level an issue is the amount of control afforded to citizens as consumers of an agency's services. The bureaucratic or corporate model is a heirarchy of status and authority. Managers are at the top of that heirarchy and are accountable to governmental policy-makers. Persons receiving services are at the bottom of the heirarchy and are not considered a part of the organization. They are merely the reciprociants of the agency's services. In short, the conception of that of a system where the inputs are policies and resources from elected officials, which go into an administrative system, with an output of services handed down. Those receiving the services may hold the elected officials accountable at the ballot box every two years, but many have little power to affect the on-going administration of programs.

Returning to the example of highways, citizens elect officials who make transportation policy and allocate resources. Agency administrators and engineers design roadways. They let contracts, and supervise construction, and so forth. The bureaucratic or corporate model does not allow citizens a legitimate (i.e., institutional) position with power to affect design, or location, or solution of alternative transportation modes. Citizens are the recipients of services.

The tremendous growth of administrative law and bureaucracies at all levels of government has created a maze which limits citizens' perceptions of their own efficacy in dealing with government, let alone serving as the root of power in a democratic society. Public schools might serve as an example of what has occurred in the responsiveness of administrative bureaucracies to the needs and power of their clients. Edward T. Ladd has described two management styles in schools: The "Puritan" and the "Madisonian." The "Puritan" concept, the more common, has four key principles:*

1. Those in authority get that authority from above, and it is essentially unlimited except by their obligations to higher authority and the law.

2. Those in authority are fully responsible for seeing to it that those below them behave correctly in every respect.

* Edward Ladd in Phi Delta Kappan, January, 1973, pp. 306-308.

3. Those at the bottom have few rights, largely nominal ones, and are forced to rely mainly on privileges and services extended to them when they have shown acceptable judgment and behavior.

4. Since those at the bottom cannot be counted on to embrace their role voluntarily, the system must provide for continuous rewards and sanctions.

In the Madisonian concept the rights of individuals, instead of being left out, are central:

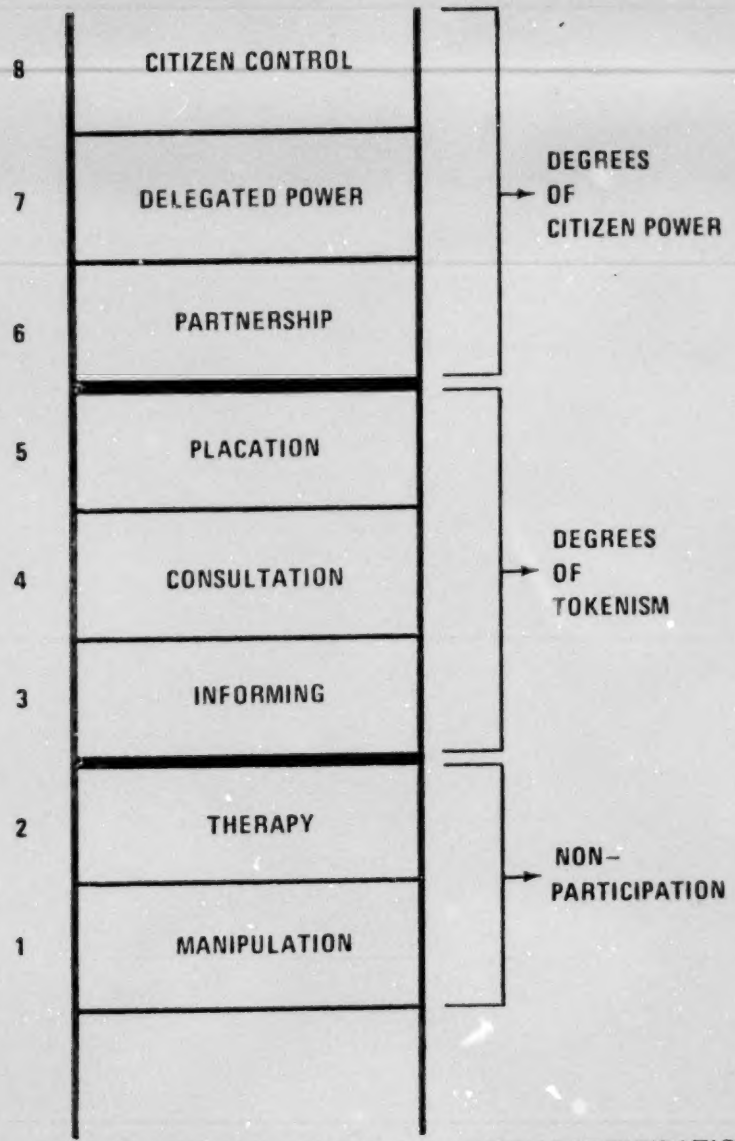
1. Everyone has certain important rights, including the rights to freedom of speech and the press, to a degree of privacy, and to due process of law. These rights do not have to be earned; they don't hinge upon the fulfilling of duties or obligations. Nor can they be taken away from anyone, no matter how irresponsible or stupid, how nonconformist or disruptive, he is. So central are rights, that duties and obligations are nothing more than means to the exercising of rights.

2. Ultimate authority comes not from above but from below; power is not centralized but is scattered equally among the members of the community.

3. Those who govern have defined functions beyond which they may not go. Since everyone else has <u>some</u> power, theirs is limited from all directions, and a special kind of impartial body, the court, exists to referee conflicts.

4. To keep the system working, everyone must temper his respect for authority with a measure of continuous defensiveness and skepticism.

The Puritan concept is a reflection of a more general problem. Bureaucracies in almost all institutions and governmental agencies have functioned along "puritan" lines. In addition, bureaucracies tend to attend to power and survival needs of their own before attending to real services. Within the state universities public relations and building construction often take precedence over instructional issues, enforcement of rules over human needs, and preservation of "domain" over effective and efficient service. Moreover, bureaucracies are most often constituted around very specific functions serving a limited perceived constituency. For example, a department of transportation sees its function as building roads; its constituency consists of road builders, auto clubs, and chambers of commerce with a growth ethic. While the real concern of a department of transportation is transportation in all of its facets (e.g., mass transit, air traffic, railroads, etc.), this point is often omitted--let alone the more subtle concerns of ecology, quality of life, and economics. Bureaucracies are single focus "organisms", while the problems of society are multi-faceted.



EIGHT RUNGS ON THE LADDER OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION
By Sherry R. Arnstein

The task is to build governmental agencies that are sufficiently broad and interrelated to cope with real world problems and to build those agencies along Madisonian concepts. We need to avoid the fascade of "citizen participation" and to build in real opportunities. In other words, we need to see that citizen participation is high on the rungs of Sherry R. Arnstein's "ladder" of types of citizen participation styles.

CONFERENCE OBJECTIVES

The flow of the conference was designed with four major sections, each allowing opportunities for dialogue with the audience:

a) Setting the concerns of the conference within the values and ideals which have marked the American experiment as unique -- the creation of an open, participatory society, based upon equality and freedom [one academic humanist].

b) Focusing upon requirements by Federal and State governments that citizens be involved in transportation planning and that citizens be consulted before policy implementation [two planning officials].

c) Dealing with the evolution of the issue over Sarasota transportation plans and the identification and assessment of citizen participation in this case [a panel including government officials].

d) Continuing assessment of needed citizenship skills and opportunities for unput in the Sarasota transportation case and in other cases involving public policy [a series of small group sessions].

e) Concluding summaries about where we are as a society given our ideals and values [to summarize the major points of the conference and indicate some needs for the future].

f) Conduct a conference evaluation.

Goals

1. To convene government officials, academic humanists, civic leaders, and citizens to explore alternative, effective ways to facilitate and to secure citizen participation in public decisions on the local level (using as a case study the development of a transportation plan for Sarasota).

2. To identify and to assess the citizen skills needed to be effective in providing input which makes a difference in public policy decisions, given our societal values and goals.

3. To prepare and to distribute a report on the conference findings to civic leaders in the Sarasota area (at no cost to the Florida Endowment for the Humanities).

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

8:30 AM

Coffee

9:00 AM

Welcome, Dr. Thomas G. Dickinson, Chairman, "Project Traffic," Orange Avenue/Osprey Avenue Neighborhood Association

The American Dream of An Open Society

Gregg Phifer, Professor, Department of Speech Communication, Florida State University

9:45 AM

Neighborhood Development: Citizen Participation Opportunities

Mr. Sherwood H. Hiller, Transportation Planning Coordinator, Sarasota/Manatee Area Transportation Study

Mr. Richard A. Hall, Tampa Bay Region Planning Engineer, Florida Department of Transportation

Questions and Answers

11:00 AM

Citizen Participation Requirements in Traffic Planning

Mrs. George Bischopric, Chairperson, Sarasota Planning Commission

Mr. Ted Sperling, Commissioner, Sarasota City Commission

Mr. Andrew Sandegren, Vice-Chairman, Board of County Commissioners, Sarasota County

Mr. Paul M. Segle, Planning Director — Community Development Coordinator, City of Sarasota

Dialogue with the Audience

12:30

Lunch

1:30 PM

Discussion Sessions in Small Groups

Conference participants may select one of the following groups. Each group has a discussion leader and resource persons available to provide insights on the issues.

GROUP #1 — Room H-2

Peter A. Butzin, Director
Common Cause — Florida

Robert Benedetti, Assistant Professor of Political Science
New College
University of South Florida

Hugh McPheeters, Jr., Attorney
Sarasota

Rick Hall

Gregg Phifer

Paul M. Segal

GROUP #2 — Room H-3

David E. LaHart
Science & Human Affairs Program
Florida State University

Mrs. Bernice Bish
League of Women Voters
of Sarasota County

Sherwood Hiller

Thomas G. Dickinson

GROUP #3 — Room H-4

Rodney F. Allen, Associate Professor
Science & Human Affairs Program
Florida State University

David Gruender, Professor
Department of Philosophy
Florida State University

Robert E. Mayer
Project Traffic

Andrew Sandegren

Mrs. George Bischopric

GROUP #4 — Room H-5

Daniel O'Connell, Attorney
Tallahassee

E.E. James, President
North County Civic Club

Lawrence J. Robinson, President
Sarasota Chamber of Commerce

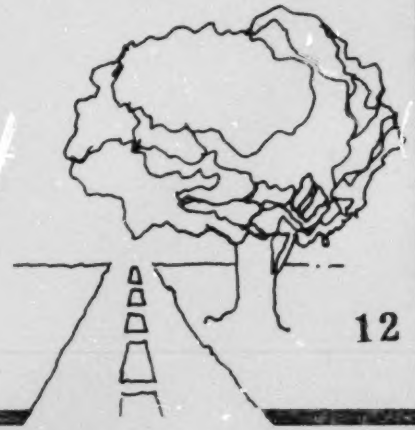
William Hammond, Supervisor
Lee County Schools

Michael J. Garvey, President
Florida District, Civitan International

Ted Sperling

3:15 PM

Conference Summary and Evaluation



This section is devoted to abstracts of the papers and remarks offered during the conference. The reader should keep in mind that these papers are the result of notes provided by the speakers, notes taken by several participants, notes from tape recordings, etc. The speakers have not had the opportunity to read and approve these notes and care should be taken when quoting from these pages and attributing the words to specific speakers.*

DR. THOMAS G. DICKINSON,
Chairman, Orange Avenue/Osprey Avenue
Neighborhood Association

Dr. Thomas G. Dickinson, Chairman, "Project Traffic," Orange Avenue/Osprey Avenue Neighborhood Association, called the conference to order at 9:00 A.M., Saturday, February 19, 1977, with a slide taken from about 7500 feet off the Gulf showing the beach, South Lido, Bird Key, Little Coon Key, the Bay front, and downtown City of Sarasota.

Sarasota is a great community. It wasn't always so. In 1842, Bill Whitaker came here from Georgia and built the first home at what is now known as Whitaker Bayou. George Owens of Philadelphia was our first tourist. George Owens said the Indians wouldn't bother a tourist but Billy Bowlegs killed him. The tourist trade has gotten better. The automobile has helped but we now find that it has become an albatross around our necks and we have learned that the greatest single deterent to developing a new neighborhood or trying to revitalize or salvage an old neighborhood is excessive traffic.

Sarasota is unique in a lot of ways. It is one of the first communities to have committed major public funds in an effort not to study the problem, not necessarily to find the answers, but to learn how to apply the answers that are known to the community and help solve this problem.

The old classical idea of urban growth is changing. Used to be as the city grew, it went to the outlying districts, leaving in its wake circles of urban blight. These circles of blight went down, down, down until they hit rock bottom and then we would look for urban renewal. The trend is changing, the policy is changing. It is the thinking now, by many knowledgable people in the field, that we had better save what we have, not to tear down and rebuild. The classical trend of growing outward with inner destruction is changing. Let's save our inner-city. If we are going to save it, we will have to save our neighborhoods. People live in neighborhoods, not cities. Investments, emotional as well as economic, are the neighborhoods, not the cities. The city cannot survive if the neighborhoods continue to decline or die. If our neighborhoods die, our cities will die. Our neighborhoods are the building blocks of our cities and the revitalization of our neighborhoods is going to be crucial to the survival of our cities.

* We wish to acknowledge and to thank Lanier Business Products, Inc., Sarasota, Florida, for contributing taping equipment so that these proceedings could be produced. We wish to thank Ms. Dorothy Tolley for preparing the transcript.

Sarasota is a great community and we are not going to let it die. We are not going to let the neighborhood die. We think something can be done about it. Shaw Sprague, a self-made man, has said that humans can accomplish anything they set out to because they have a brain, they can think, they can learn from the experience, good or bad, of others and they can put it together and they can plan. He says you can't think in terms of what was or what is, you have to think in terms of what is going to be. That is the name of the game of Planning. His formula applied to this is - Information plus Imagination plus Determination divided by Judgment equals Success.

We have the determination, our Planners have the imagination. The literature will furnish us with the information. We are knowledgeable humans and have the judgment and can't help but succeed.

That is what this seminar is about. It is to draw people together who recognize a common problem. This seminar is not to find specific answers on how to fix "A" Street or "B" Street or any specific local problem but to find and discuss methods by which the known answers can be brought to fruition of involving concerned citizens and work with their City Planners, City Administration, Planning Boards and staffs to find the answers to make our community better for all of us.

THE AMERICAN DREAM OF AN OPEN SOCIETY

GREGG PHIFER
Speech Communication
Florida State University

There are times when we think of government as a mysterious "them" far off in Washington or Tallahassee. Government is something "they" do to us, not we to ourselves. Congress, for instance, is to us a closed corporation dedicated to the preservation and extension of their perquisites--an increase in annual pay equal to or more than the earnings of many Americans, generous travel allowances to and from the home district, worldwide junkets at taxpayers' expense when Congress is not in session, expense allowances that would make General Motors envious, and a huge staff padded with cronies, relatives, and sex objects. Finally, Congress arranges a system to protect even the most incompetent "in" from challenge by an "out."

What has happened to the American dream of an open society? Or, is that dream an illusion that never was and never can be? Can we hope to "Open Up the System?"

Much of our discussion will concern the nuts and bolts of an open, responsive society. Before we turn to the how-to-do-it phase of our work together, let's get a running start in this post-Bicentennial year by looking at the beginnings of our United States. Specifically, what kind of a document was our Constitution?

The Convention that met in Philadelphia in 1787 had no mandate to write a revolutionary Declaration of Independence from Great Britain. No, independence had been won and the charge was to amend the Articles of Confederation. In a sense, theirs was a revolutionary decision to create a new basic document for thirteen struggling states on this side of the Atlantic.

Sure, the end product was a bundle of compromises designed to make a central government acceptable to jealous factions of North and South, East and West. How could it have been otherwise? The Founding Fathers created a set of checks and balances to prevent hasty and ill-considered change. They created an Electoral College so that the well-born, well-heeled, and informed--the "best citizens" in each state--would choose our President. So we promptly frustrated their intent with the party system--something not mentioned in the Constitution.

Even the Senate was chosen by state legislatures, not by direct vote. It took us until 1913 with the seventeenth amendment to provide for direct election of senators. Slavery? Well, it took the world's bloodiest Civil War to settle that one. The 13th amendment abolishing slavery followed in 1865 and the 15th amendment in 1870 gave Blacks the vote. We didn't even allow women to vote until 1920 with the 19th amendment. And the male chauvinists among us still struggle against the Equal Rights Amendment.

But look for a moment at our constitutional qualifications for voting. Do you or I have to meet a property qualification to vote? Or to hold public office? No, but don't think there weren't proposals for both before the Constitutional Convention. Conservative as some of our Constitution's provisions were, in other provisions it was downright radical.

So much for our quick look backwards. Change comes, but to those who struggle to bring it about, progress must seem agonizingly slow. Patience with evolution yields to impatient attempts at revolution. And when this is blocked, by lack of popular support or superior strength in the Establishment, many abandon the political process altogether.

We could illustrate this many times. But take the ballot box as a case in point. For our last city election in Tallahassee, there were over 42,000 registered voters; and only 7,000 turned out at the polls to choose our new city commissioners. Sure, we do better than that for presidential elections, but my friends in Italy wonder why we don't even come close to their 95% turnout.

I assume that those of us who come out for a conference on Highways and Humans exercise regularly our democratic franchise. We vote, at least most of the time, put on the Jaycee "I voted" tag, pat ourselves on the back, and say "What a good boy--or girl--am I!" Then we call it a day. We have done our civic duty.

What else did you do for the democratic process? Did you write your congressman or visit him when he came back--at our expense--to his home district? Did you write a letter to the editor? Take part in a party caucus? Run for office yourself, or encourage a person of high integrity to do so? Responsible citizen participation is a prerequisite for an open society. It is not enough to let Jimmy--or Lawton (Chiles) or Dick (Stone)

or Reuben (Askew) do it. We must assume our share of the responsibility for the future of our city, state, and nation.

There are many things we can do for ourselves economically with little or no intervention by Government. Farmers create cooperatives to cut the price of fertilizer or feeds and to market their produce. Teachers, professors, and employees of many businesses create their own credit unions.

But highways are not among those things we can easily do for ourselves. Mass transit fits the same category. It is not easy to build private bicycle paths or even jogging trails to combat our middle-aged spread. When we neglect government and scorn politics, we at the grassroots or democracy are in trouble, deep trouble.

So if we want to put our apathy behind us and get involved in creating an open society responsive to our needs, what do we do? Well, if we really want to effect change and not just gripe about matters, we need effective citizen action.

1. Our action must be sustained. A conference like this is a flash in the pan--valuable perhaps to kindle interest and light the way. But only persevering effort over a period of time will effect change.

2. We need organization, a continuing body. Without organization, the individual is powerless. "How many votes do you represent?" "Well, my own, and I think that of my wife (or husband)." "Oh, is that all?"

3. Our action must be focused. We choose a limited target, zero in, and hit it hard. Leave education to the League of Women Voters, research to the Universities. Use both, but citizen groups and neighborhood associations must choose concrete goals, specific objectives.

4. Our contacts with our representatives, with the media, and with the public need professional skill. Well-meaning amateurism is not enough. We must be prepared to make the necessary contacts, to present our arguments forcefully, and yes, to lobby successfully.

5. We need allies. Long-range coordinating mechanisms are often exercises in futility. We need ad hoc arrangements on specific issues.

6. We need leadership. No organized effort can succeed without it. Be prepared to offer yours when called on.

It's a long way in time and space from Philadelphia in 1787 to Sarasota in 1977. But their conference--and ours--are both part of the working out of the American system. Frustrations rise aplenty, but also opportunities unlimited.

Problems of citizen participation in government are largely problems of effective communication, a professional concern of mine. We must reach out to each other. In union there is strength. Thirteen separate and jealously independent struggling colonies needed it. Our uncertain neighborhood associations and community groups need it just as surely today in Tallahassee or Sarasota. We, the people of the United States, can, if we will, make this a more perfect union. Power is here for us to take--if we will. And that, in my view, is what this conference is all about.

PAUL M. SEGAL,
Planning Director, Community Development Coordinator
City of Sarasota

In a recent issue of the local newspaper, a gentleman wished to vote on an issue to be considered by the City Commission. The gentleman's request is unique only in that he was a resident of the County and lived outside the City's legal boundary. His desire to participate in a political issue is well founded in our country. Indeed, the desire of U.S. John Q. Citizen to actively participate in political and governmental affairs goes back to early colonial times.

This desire was an outgrowth of anti-aristocratic and royalist practice by the first settlers, whether freemen or indentured servants, who wish to enjoy, possess and practice self-determination and independency through home rule.

Even Machiavelli, the political philosopher of the 16th century, who advocated the need for an absolute ruler, said that government is more stable when it is served by the many. He even preferred election to heredity as a mode for choosing rulers and in his "Prince" he advocated nationwide citizenship.

The early Puritans to America brought with them their desire to practice religious and economic self-determination. The immigration to the New World by other peoples, such as the Scotch, Irish, German, all had similar philosophies of liberalism.

The practice of local home rule that grew up in America was twofold: In response to native conditions and the desire to cut off old world denomination ties. Therefore, home rule resulted from democratic needs, that good government springs from a common interest in public affairs, and that such common interest is possible only when people participate.

The application of republicanism in a democratic form of government was obviously a serious goal for the preparers of the Articles of Confederation, and later the Constitution of the United States. In both documents there is an obvious attempt to assert the principles of the majority will. This concept was expressed in legislation and physical design both in the populist laws of Rhode Island and New Hampshire and in early American cities such as Boston, New Haven where the open-space commons are located. The early town meetings of New England where every issue was debated and voted upon by the entire community attending the meeting is another example. Incidentally, the open town meeting is still in practice today in small communities.

America is a dynamic nation, constantly undergoing change to meet the ever-changing times. Whether it was due to the creation of a large middle-class Americana post World War II, or the quiet revolution of the 1960's, or the Watergate incident, there has now emerged a stronger desire for the Americans to participate in his country's political life. By 1970 citizen participation had become a factor in political decisions at all levels of government.

In our democracy, the people elect their representatives to legislate for them. Here is implied a trust that the laws will be fair and reasonable and apply equally to all.

But the rise of special interests, good and bad accordingly, pressure groups, political chicanery, brought about the need for more direct citizen involvement. People no longer want to rely solely upon the elected officials but demand participation. Today, the trend is for candidates and incumbents to encourage and solicit public statement and opinion.

The Supreme Court one-man-one-vote decision, the rise of the Civil Rights Movement, the emergence of the women vote and the equal rights concept are all examples of the developing national movement for citizen input in many political and governmental subjects, including the city planning process.

People want a direct voice in democracy.

Before we can discuss citizen involvement in city planning, particularly in the neighborhood or as applied to specific elements of planning, such as transportation planning, we ought to define what we mean by planning. Planning may be considered as a series of related actions and decisions organized to accomplish specific goals and objectives, which in turn form the framework for public and private decision making.

Planning as we know it today is but 50 years old and is an outgrowth of the City Beautiful Movement of the late 19th Century. From 1920 to 1960, planners were concerned with the development of traditional approaches concerned with the physical image of the city. During these years, the planning function developed a measurement or inventory technique for measuring existing conditions and predictions; such as the number of people and their characteristics, how people moved about, how they earned their living, where they lived.

From this technological data gathering was summarized the proposed land use and thoroughfare plans eventually presented and adopted. Often these plans had very little or no public involvement. Sometime after 1960, traditional planning practice was expanded to include new conceptions, for planners were now working in a different political and social environment, facing new kinds of problems, understanding better how the city functions. This new approach is called Policy Planning. The approach had many advantages, as it permitted, indeed demanded, early involvement in the planning process by elected officials and the public because it required that the policy and goals be spelled out early in the planning process.

This provided stability, consistency, adjustment to changing conditions and served as a guide to elected officials who had the final responsibility for adopting land use controls and other regulatory ordinances.

Planning is no longer an abstraction that should be viewed only when it affects your particular block or property, but is a total approach tool for communities solving this or that problem, whether city wide or down to a single dwelling unit.

The involvement of the Federal Government in urban renewal over the years brought about the need for an interdisciplinary approach to solving community problems. Planners became involved in the poverty, social, economic and public works programs. To do so, it became necessary to coordinate neighborhoods, municipal departments, metropolitan and regional agencies. Often

the involvement of city planners in social welfare planning pitted the planners against the local government they worked for. But the process was particularly meaningful in resolving urban renewal in declining neighborhoods. It is recognized that underprivileged citizens are unable to reverse or influence their conditions due to their sense of powerlessness or not understanding government procedure. Advocacy planning helped these people by providing a professional service to a neighborhood, resulting in obvious improvement.

City planning has always stressed, encouraged, and solicited citizen participation. To be practical it required that the city be divided into manageable planning areas or neighborhoods. Years ago the neighborhoods revolved around a school district, so as to provide safe walking distances from residential areas.

This permitted citizen participation at the neighborhood level in providing a focal point for bringing the people together to discuss local problems of mutual concern. Still in the emerging stage, this concept should serve as the basis for community planning at the grass roots level and should encourage neighborhood planning with local citizen participation on a city wide basis.

Early neighborhood citizen influence was tested when it became a requirement of the Housing Act of 1954. There were two objectives - to inform the public about renewal and to encourage neighborhood action for conservation and rehabilitation. The first was successful. The second encouraging neighborhood action, needs more experience.

Still needed to be answered is what amount of citizen participation and at what level. Obviously, professional expertise is required to promote solutions and often these are in conflict with the neighborhood desires. Quite often the polarization in neighborhoods has been more of a drawback, than cooperation between technical and citizen groups.

Today, citizen input in the urban planning process is required at all levels of government - federal, state and local. These laws are in addition to the traditional public hearing process practices by local communities.

As normally practiced, social pressures preceed legal requests, thus the process of the 1960's became the laws of the 70's. The present day goal is for the citizen to participate early in the planning process prior to public hearing or formal procedure. Planning departments, planning boards promote citizen reaction to proposals as planning relies upon public official and citizen involvement. The planner plans, the legislator budgets, the public accepts, the city builds.

If this triumvirate approach is to be successful, whether city wide or at the neighborhood level, the public must be involved in the following manner: 1) Enlist the cooperation and support of the public so that it understands the objectives and methods of planning as applied to community development. Community support will be more readily available when they feel they have personally participated or understand what is going on; 2) the city is its people, who come from different walks of life with different interests; hence, they should understand their interrelationship between their special interest and planning proposals. In this way, the planners can better interrelate their needs into more acceptable, meaningful comprehensive plans. It would be better to have somewhat less perfect acceptable plans than to have better plans that do not have public support and eventually are filed on the shelf and gather dust. The Local Government Comprehensive Planning Act supports the local participation at all levels.

Project Orange is an example of an involved citizenry concern with the traffic and its influence on the adjacent residential areas. Another example is the St. Armands Association and the St. Armands Merchants Association, who monitor petitions for rezoning, traffic circulation and parking requirements in their neighborhood. These organized associations are examples of parts or a whole neighborhood becoming concerned with the impact of traffic on their lifestyles. They could be a forerunner of others to follow who are concerned with other comprehensive planning elements, such as housing, socioeconomics, and land use proposals.

APPENDIX

Where federally-funded transportation programs are involved, public participation is often required. The office of Public Affairs for the Urban Mass Transportation Administration and the Federal Highway Administration are mandated with the responsibility to disseminate general information to the public and the press so as to foster public awareness and understanding of UMTA and FHWS programs, projects and activities.

The field offices of UMTA and FHWA must maintain close contact with public bodies since their mission is to increase the understanding, coordination, effectiveness, development and execution of UMTA and FHWA programs among participating entities. At this level in the bureaucracy, the public is primarily informed without much opportunity for effective participation. Instead the Department of Transportation required the designation of a Metropolitan Planning Organization made up of governor-appointed local elected officials to carry out the urban transportation planning process in conjunction with the appropriate state transportation agency.

The U.S. D.O.T. emphasizes that "each Metropolitan Planning Organization should make an active effort to involve citizen groups and the general public throughout the planning process..." and that "representation of a broad spectrum of the public, ranging from minorities and special interest groups to the general citizenry, and comprising a wide economic, social, and geographic range, should be included." (11/8/74, Federal Register).

Several publications are made available to U.S. D.O.T. to these M.P.O.'s to assist in achieving this citizen participation. The main point is that the federal level entertains citizen participation in the form of lobbying and suggestions concerning procedural regulations but passes the substantive element of public participation on to the local level.

The Florida D.O.T. encourages consideration of economic, social and environmental effects by each district office in the development of highway projects. The amount of public involvement is made to correspond with the level of project impact. Participation at this project level of planning is usually the most active of all phases. The U.S. D.O.T., however, encourages citizen participation in the very early stages of the planning process for federally-funded programs. This process begins with policy planning and progresses through system planning to corridor planning where impacts on neighborhoods become obvious. Community planning follows with resolutions to corridor impacts.

The project planning state terminates the process, but many problems often arise at this level which are of particular concern to residents affected by the project location. Most problems, however, should be resolved at the corridor stage. Corridor modifications often require changes to the system plan. Coordinating and recoordinating the process between system and corridor stages should prevent major roadblocks in the following community and project stages, leaving only minor details to be handled in the remaining stages.

NEIGHBORHOOD INVOLVEMENT IN TRAFFIC PLANNING PROGRAMS

An effective citizens involvement program should stress:

- Contact with the neighborhood group prior to commencing any study activities to discuss what is needed and optional ways to proceed.

- Assignment of a staff professional to continue with the same neighborhood group (s) throughout the program.

- Availability of specialists knowledgeable in the fields of mortgage financing and real estate evaluation to advise on economic impact of proposed traffic projects on property values.

- Efforts that a neighborhood group can undertake for themselves to protect their area against adverse impact of traffic; including buffering, construction of walls (with zoning variances where needed), development of common driveways, opening of rear alley accesses, purchase of strategically located problem properties, etc.

- Identification of "total" neighborhood to be involved in traffic impact study rather than portions of such neighborhoods.

- Presentation of information and proposals in concise, largely graphic form to allow for understanding by laymen of technical material usually obscured by technical jargon.

- The inter-relationship with the traffic effort of the various other programs being undertaken by the community including: land use planning, community development conservation programs, zoning modifications, etc.

MR. RICHARD HALL,
Tampa Bay Regional Planning Engineer,
Florida Department of Transportation,
Tallahassee, Florida

I first want to open by saying - this is a very positive conference and I am gratified to be a part of it. I would like to see more of this kind of interaction take place throughout the State. I feel that this conference, being the first of its type for Florida, should have succeeding conferences in other parts of the State. I commend the organizers of this conference.

Citizen participation is the main topic here. There has been a lot of progress made in citizen participation over the recent past history. The question used to be, should citizens be involved in planning transportation facilities? But that is no longer the question. The question now is, how can citizens most effectively be involved in planning transportation systems? So that is progress. Slow progress, but it is moving forward.

The main purpose of transportation planning citizen input is to see what decisions of the government reflect the preferences of the people. And I put the emphasis on "reflect." It is important that you go through this stream of thought, the information, the imagination, determination, judgment, and success, that everyone realize that citizen desires sometimes cannot be economically implemented. That is why I emphasize the word "reflect." There can't be a citizen demand by a smaller segment, it has to be a general compromise among all the factors involved. But that doesn't diminish the citizen participation progress process at all, it just has to be set in proper framework of a compromise. A general theme of planning citizen participation should be the accountability of government for the planning decisions that are made.

In keeping with the lingering Bicentennial move that carries over into 1977, I would like to describe several historical governmental developments in the United States that led to the evolution of the citizen participation process.

In the early history of the United States from the 1770's to the 1850's, the main goal of many interested revolutionary types was to attain a white male suffrage vote for all white males in the Country. When that was accomplished, the second stage of this evolution of the United States government procedures was to gain woman suffrage and to reform some of the openly corrupt governments as in the case of Cincinnati. There was a great movement to clean up the openly corrupt governments.

The third stage was from the 1930's to the present where increased suffrage for minority groups were finally a very important topic that many of the leaders in the nation were accurately pursuing. Also the citizen involvement in an attempt to control the high bureaucracy that has grown up in governmental operation. That is one of the key tasks from the 1930's to the present, and it is still going. So the citizen involvement is just a natural evolution of the government activity that has gone on since the birth of this nation.

As a result of this increased concern for the citizen being able to make inputs to special transportation planning, there was an extensive federal legislation promulgated beginning in 1950 and this is all a little dry but let me give you some of the dates and activities.

Title 23 of the United States Code deals with the highway aspects and the regulations the federal government has in the expenditure of the federal highway funds. Title 49 deals mostly with the Transit related activities, Mass Transportation expenditures the federal government makes.

Beginning in 1950 the Federal Highway Act of 1950 which would amend Title 23 first dictated that public hearings should be held for major highway projects. So that lets you know that this whole process is not very old. That is one reason it takes a lot of groping and education and interaction through conferences such as this one.

In the 1962 Federal Highway Act, the Comprehensive Planning process was mandated. That is the 3-C process, the Transportation Planning Process that takes place on an area-wide basis. The Federal Bureaucracy said if you don't plan, you don't get the dollars. That is quite an incentative to do your comprehensive plan.

In 1968 the Federal Highway Act had the famous 4-F Section in it that protects parks and wildlife refuges. There has to be no other feasible alternative available to you before you can take a wildlife refuge or a park.

In 1969 there was special legislation for Environmental Impact, the National Environmental Protection Act, which required a detailed evaluation of what the environmental impact would be of any process you wanted to implement.

In 1970 the Highway Act mandated that an Action Plan be developed by each State. The Florida Action Plan is an action plan for consideration of the economic, social and environmental effects of systems and projects that are built with federal funds. There are several state laws, namely Florida Statutes. 334.21 covers the Department of Transportation's responsibility in developing projects and the public hearings that have to be held at specific points in development of the project.

Now those are the laws, that's what comes out of Congress and out of your legislature. Then the fourth branch of government takes over, the bureaucracy, the fellows in Washington take what the law says and make it implementable, they have to write the regulations of how to implement the law which is a very difficult task.

The administrative guidelines that have come out of the United States Department of Transportation are published in the Federal Register. Federal Register 450.120, September 17, 1975, details specifically that you need citizen involvement in your systems planning process.

I think it is important at this time todisseminate a little information on the different levels of transportation. The highest level or the most comprehensive level is the Systems Planning Level. That is the current SMATS, Sarasota, Manatee Area Transportation Study, that is underway in your area. The Systems Planning process should tell you what the general demands are over your entire two-country area, where the travel demand is. It should

involve the citizens and technical people in an interactive way to decide how to resolve those and take a recommended plan to policy level. Citizen participation in that process is required by Federal law and regulations. It is important to know that it is required by law.

The next level after you finish your Systems Plan is the Project Plan Level. You pick a project that needs to be implemented first. These are major projects that have State and Federal funding involved in them, I-75, 41, U.S. 301 in this area, major State and Federal facilities. It is required by law that citizen participation take place on those types of facilities. Environmental Impact statements, that I mentioned, need to be prepared and public hearings held at different points in time.

The next level down would be your local Street projects. There is no federal or state law that says each individual local project must have citizen participation, the only way you are going to get effective citizen participation for a local project is individual groups of people that are in the local level. Your recourse is through your City Hall and County Commissioners. It would be improper for the federal government to mandate that local streets must have citizen participation. So on the lowest level the facilities of local streets and minor collectors is your responsibility.

The only other area of System Planning that would affect your local streets and some of your less than major arterial consideration is the Systems Planning Effort, SMATS effort. And there again, I said we were required by law on the systems plan because at that point of time we consider the interstates and 41's and the local streets and, since we try to look at it in a comprehensive way, the impact on all of the neighborhoods and all of the businesses by all the facilities that is another area that you should be diligent about being involved in.

I have several documents I would like to discuss with you. The green one is put out by the Federal Highway Administration, it describes the Action Plan that I mentioned in more detail. Environmental assessment, Environmental impact statements, all these are more technical documents that we work with day by day. It also describes the urban transportation planning, historic preservation, the SMATS effort, etc., it is an up-to-date informative document.

The black and white document is a Florida Department of Transportation publication, it is in fold-out fashion describing everything from long range planning down to project implementation and they make a point to stress where citizen participation, public hearings are held in the process. This is more for the U.S. 301 type facility.

I mentionedd the Florida Action Plan, there are several publications which to the practitioner are now manuals on citizen participation. This is fairly direct, "Effective Citizen Participation in Transportation Plans," a very good document.

This is another document. This first document was developed by transportation planning consulting firms who work for the United States Department of Transportation, this one comes out of our University research.

I just wanted to make the point that there is extensive documentation on citizen involvement at all levels.

MR. SHERWOOD HILLER,
Transportation Planning Coordinator,
Sarasota/Manatee Area Transportation Study

Neighborhood participation - Citizen participation - neighborhood development, you write it down as you will, try it out. What does it mean? It means different things to different people, more than anything else, I suppose it suggests some questions and that is the heart of what we are getting into now, some very interesting questions, with perhaps some valid useful answers.

Let us try the first question. Why Citizen participation? In most cases I think we have to concede it is for the purpose of some believed self-interest. Believed self-interest, it is not uncommon for a large discrepancy to exist between believed and actual self-interest or perceived and actual self-interest.

The second question that comes forth is - don't we participate through our elected officials? The answer is Yes, No, and Maybe. The phrase neighborhood development seems to imply some kind of community interest in the neighborhood yet it is obvious if anyone who has lived in a particular neighborhood for any length of time, that a neighborhood is not just another homogenized bottle of milk so neither is a city as a conglomerate of neighborhoods homogeneous. To say it is does not make it so.

Furthermore, as individuals we often find ou selves in a variety of communities of interest. Normally what precipitates citizen activity is a specific issue which is perceived as pinching one's nerve of self interest.

In the early history of our country citizen participation was simple and direct. The evolution of our society into one which is largely urbanized has greatly depersonalized the functioning of the mechanism of government. The result has been to create an estrangement between the people of the community and the government as though they are two separate entities. While it may be nice and interesting and satisfying, to keep saying they are one and the same thing, from practical operating standpoint we know that it is not true.

If you are an actual participant in the operation of processes of government you will see issues in a certain context, related in a certain way. If you are outside the process and you are a private citizen, you will see these same issues and problems with a different understanding and they may well be unrecognizable. You will find you are not even talking to the same point, to the same problems, certainly not the same ways of handling it.

The next question that seems to pop up is how one participates effectively? It is one thing to cite a bunch of federal statutes and rules for carrying out a generalized federal statute, rules get published in the federal register and down the line everybody adds on a bit of understanding to the part as they see it. It is one thing to pass a State Statute saying the same thing, but it is another thing to actively enter into the process in any kind of effective manner satisfying them. It depends on certain

points of view because we have estranged ourselves from structures that are involved in our living processes. There has always been opportunities for participation such going to Council Meetings, calling the Mayor on the telephone, etc. During the 14 years I was City Traffic Engineer I never heard from a person or one who came directly in front of me to talk about problems who had not voted for the man who had become Mayor. Opportunities are always there.

Though the Statutes sound encouraging and the Courts have spoken to these questions rather strongly, the decision process, that is what we are talking about, the decision process, how do you get into it, how to become a part of it, how can you effectively participate, is opening up. These legal requirements have opened the door. I would suggest to you that this opening up process is not new or revolutionary but it is an attempt to recapture our early citizen personal participation.

I would also suggest to you that post World War II, development of the automobile defined urban forms laid the predicate for renewal of individual citizen and neighborhood participation in the decision making process. Large urban areas, upon closer examination, begin to look like a stitched together conglomerate of small towns. Think about it in your own community or any other large urban area that you have visited or resided in. "Each town" has its central business district. Today we call them large shopping centers. What has happened is the town is now crystalizing around these activity centers rather than the old traditional single business district surrounded by rings of residential development.

If there are opportunities for participation, how is one effectively to do it? It is evident that the formal mechanisms provided don't guarantee it. The functioning of modern urban area is a complex, technical dynamic process and in order to effectively participate, either as an individual or as a group, it is necessary to achieve to some degree of technical knowledge and awareness of the decision making process itself first of all and secondly, to become technically knowledgeable about the issues in which you are interested. You cannot effect a decision making process if you don't know very much about the issues and the kinds of things that are involved. You must be able to relate and communicate with the people who are charged with making technical decisions.

Many people working in government are more than happy to spend time telling you how their part of the process works. It isn't quite rational, however, to assault him one day and then expect him to come before your group on his own time to school you or heighten your awareness.

Another requirement of effective participation is your willingness to invest your time. You must be prepared if you want to effectively participate, to invest your time, a lot of your time. Keep in mind also that the decision making process in our society and in our governmental structure is a continuous one. People who are involved in it are dealing with different problems, on different time schedules with difficult physical problems and they are spending an enormous amount of time. I have very little time for those who do nothing but complain but don't make some kind of a real attempt to be part of the process.

The transportation planning process just happens to be one that seeks citizen participation. Rick has pointed this out, it provides a mechanism, the Sarasota/Manatee Area Transportation Study, SMATS, will provide a formal mechanism - The Citizen Advisory Committee. There is also a Technical Advisory Committee involved in this process.

Willingness to invest time is important. Can you afford not to invest more time in this process? I suggest that you cannot afford not to, you can't walk away from this project.

For participation to be effective, it must be competent, it must be informed, it must be cooperative. One doesn't have to be a college professor to be effectively participating in the decision making process. Participation can be effective regardless who the person is. All can participate. If this process is to have any meaning at all, if it is to be effective, it has to provide for many people to participate in many ways at different levels and all of you can do it.

Competent, cooperative and continuous - those are the keys. Interacting with the decision making process only at the County Commission level or City Commission level is very late in the game. A cooperative, competent, continuous involvement or inputting at the technical operational level is necessary for effective fruitful results for both the citizen group and the governmental group. That kind of approach holds out the possibility of a unified result. Hopefully, we have a way of effectively participating - understand how to do it and perhaps we can find more specific ways to do it.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Question: (Daniel O'Connell)

I think something critical is missing from the morning programs and I want to direct the questions to both Paul Segal as the local Planning Director and also to Rick. In your point this thing that comes out like this, right at the first I would invite everybody to write in Chapter 23 of the Florida State Comprehensive Planning Act that was adopted in 1972 and also put in Chapter 163, the local government comprehensive planning act of 1975. Also, one of the things I think we are possibly being deceived about here is to think that the State, the Federal and the regional bodies are really the critical point for public participation on highways.

I am quoting from two Attorney Generals' opinions of last week which makes it quite clear that these MPO's only coordinate and they really have no authority, they are only advisory. But the two state laws that I have read to you are mandatory. And in particular, Paul, the question is this: 163.3181, as amended by the last session, has extensive legal requirements on citizen participation and also requires procedures to be adopted and citizen informed in every stage of the process. The act also requires in sections dealing with the local government comprehensive plan of 1969 the local body must adopt a comprehensive plan of public transportation element and it has very extensive provisions for circulation, thoroughfare plans, and things like this. The question is, in effect, as to citizen participation, where do you think the most critical place and what legal requirements or what are you doing to comply with those legal requirements?

The second question, the reason I am making that an extensive question, I think this is really where the authority is for us to participate, then to Rick here is that, the State of Florida has authority in Chapter 23 to adopt the State Comprehensive Plan and they have a proposed transportation element. Once this is adopted as State policy and all budgets must be prepared consistent with that which is a check on the functional plan of the Department of Transportation as to growth, management, planning in the State, amendments to that, and this is going to become State Law, it is on the Governor's desk now and it will, of course, be binding, has a lot of provisions that we have now gotten stuck into it that will be restrictions on what transportation agencies can do, one of them providing discourage widening of neighborhood streets, etc. So the question to you, Rick, is where do you feel that your process fits in in terms of your fole through the state and citizens for your being able to develop state transportation policy without going through a growth management state comprehensive planning process?

ANSWER: (Paul M. Segal)

To start with I am unfamiliar with the State Attorney Generals opinions. First of all I am not privy to receiving them so you will have to forgive my ignorance of them. Let me address myself to the other element, the more important element of your statement.

When I came to Sarasota in 1966, the City Commission had completed a "profiles for progress" which indicated the goals and policies of the community. This was given a large public d ssemination and acceptance. There upon, the City using that as a guide in the State Legislative body, authorized the Administration to continue to or go proceed with its fulfillment. And in 1968, after continuing a few years, we finished an analysis of the previous thoroughfare plan, the land use plan, and some of the business district element which was begun in 1959 by the Tax Study group. These were updated and in 1969, I believe, the first amended thoroughfare plan was presented and in 1961, recognizing the terrific impact upon the streets of the city by traffic, we did another study. It is rather unique to do a thoroughfare or collector street systems study a year and a half or two years apart.

In Sarasota, I am pleased to say, one man can completely reverse, alter or change the minds of the City Commission. We have come a long way and this is why we are able to do much more here. This city, the citizens of this city, have been very much interested in its government. We are fortunate we have a sophisticated population. They want their city to take certain trends and we have been that way. Concerning the local comprehensive planning act which I mentioned, it has an entire section on how to go about public participation.

This book is a local officials' guide to the local government comprehensive planning act. Now the Act, as you know, was adopted in 1976. This has just become available to us. In the meantime most planning directors have been proceeding to lay the groundwork on fulfilling the requirements of the Act and its various component parts and the interpretation of this by the State of Florida Department of Community Affairs, Division of Technical Assistance.

I am not in agreement with many aspects of it but then I am allowed discretion and professionally I will exercise that discretion and work through my planning board, through its citizen advisory groups, through its technical advisory group with the act which has been appointed in accordance so that when we do get to the City Commission, there has been not only public input but as I mentioned, public direct involvement. It is easy to say that, and Woody brought out some of the weaknesses of this and I brought out a statement when I said, "Where do you stop and start and to what degree?" In other words, professionally I can make a study, I can count the number of people here, your sexes, how old you are, I can even give you a count on teeth, if you want me to. It is not worth a darn unless it is fitted into something which is beneficial. Before we do that I would have to go to the Commission and say, "Do you want such a study done?" They then hold a public hearing, the public may or may not come. I have watched six people come before the City Commission one day on a $6 to $8 million item. I have watched the halls packed on a $15 item. No one knows what the public will do. We are now required to go out to the public and say, "Please participate, please serve on our various citizen boards, please represent your neighborhood."

It is not a requirement of the Act. The Act merely said that there should be public involvement and two public hearings should be held, before each application. True, there has to be some public hearings on the EPA requirements and I think there are post public hearings after it is in the State's hands and comes back to us from the Federal hands. Nevertheless, because I know as a student of planning, bringing the public in is a better way to handle it and Act calls for that.

If this group would take it upon itself to serve as a nucleous for the development of other groups and make yourself heard, this meeting today will be very meaningful. It will make our job in the planning function easier.

(Mr. Richard A. Hall)

I think your question is how should the Florida Department of Transportation address the transportation element in the state comprehensive planning?

My personal thrust is as a member of the Bureau of Planning within the Department of Transportation will be to try to manage our resources to get the SMATS plan processed and adopted by the policy group down here which is soon to be the MPO, the Metropolitan Planning Organization. That is where my personal thrust will be, to work with Woody to get the plan developed, reviewed by everyone and adopted with adequate citizen input in the end.

Now as far as the Department is concerned, we are committed to coordinate with the Department of Administration and specifically the Bureau of State Planning who instituted the State Comprehensive Plan procedures and are trying to get the State Comprehensive Plan adopted and finalized, will coordinate with them and they will send over their proposals to us and we review those against the SMATS plan. When that SMATS plan is completed

and adopted and someone sends up from the local area the local comprehensive planning act plan that will be developed here with Paul Segal's assistance, we review the SMATS plan and some of the Department priorities which have proper citizen input at the SMATS stage. So we are relying quite heavily on the SMATS plan to make sure the citizen participation is developed there and carries on through to the development state level.

(Mr. Sherwood H. Hiller)

If you want to participate with SMATS, give your name, address and telephone number to Roy Shepard. You will get notice of the very next meeting coming up early March, first Thursday evening, and he will see that you get notice, etc., as Chairman of the Citizens Advisory Committee. If you want to feel a little bit better about coming here today, you can walk out saying, "I am going to do it."

QUESTION: (From the Audience)

What power of authority does this Sarasota/Manatee Area Transportation Study group have?

ANSWER: (Mr. Sherwood H. Hiller)

It is the mechanism by which local government co-ordinates its efforts, together with the State Department of Transportation, in developing a comprehensive transportation plan for this urban area.

QUESTION: (From the Audience)

Suppose that the Study Group has recommendations which would require some changes in plans that had been made previously by the Highway Department. A highway that was planned, let us say, twenty years ago but not implemented completely yet may have been appropriated twenty years ago but because of social economic developments in new neighborhoods, new population growth, etc., is no longer practical, would the highway department consider that or would they come back with the excuse, "Twenty years ago we planned this and nothing can be done about it."

ANSWER: (Mr. Richard A. Hall)

I can't promise anything. All I can say is that we are a committed partner in this cooperative process and we should come across these needs for reevaluation together in a group and we can take the particular need for reassessment back to our superiors and get some action on it.

When a valid concern comes up and is judged to be valid by all the local participants and State participants, then that can be acted upon.

As far as the responsibilities of SMATS, the policy group, now called the Policy Committee, soon to be called the Metropolitan Planning Organization, has the responsibility to adopt some type of systems planned for this area. The certification cut-off of the Federal construction funds for an urbanized area has occured on several occasions over the past eight or

ten years in the State of Florida. Let me give you some reasons why they were cut off. 1. A certain policy committee never met. Did not carry out their charge to meet and act on systems planning recommendations. Another area could not, they met, but could not adopt the plan. They said, well, let's restudy. They are on their fourth restudy. No adoption. Decertification. Another area would not hire staff. A one-quarter of one planner working on a major urban area. Decertification.

. This area, as I mentioned to the technical people here before, is one of the more progressive ones in the State. Active policy group. They have hired the necessary staff. The only next step, to pass the pitfalls of other areas, is to get busy and adopt a plan.

QUESTION: (From the Audience)

If this group is going to have any value at all, they have to consider conditions today and tomorrow and not something that some engineer drew up fifteen or twenty years ago. I have been very much disturbed. In the brief association I have had with a particular problem with the complete indifference to any citizen input even though the citizens do have an advisory position but also have alternatives to offer. I think it is great to set up laws and I know something about how States set up these advisory groups and how many times they expect them to merely agree with what they have already decided. If they don't agree, it is ignored.

ANSWER: (Dr. Thomas G. Dickinson)

The Citizens Advisory Committee of SMATS is charged with the privilege and responsibility of meeting with anyone who wants to and they write down the input from their local areas. This is when it gets down to Street "A", and make recommendations that they want carried out in the general plan. These are carried on the Technical advisory Committee and they must be reviewed and they must be looked at and the Citizens Advisory Committee can then meet with the technical people and they will be told "Yes" or "No", "Why not" and that isn't the end there because something has changed. It's that dangling dollar which is now protecting the citizens groups and so in answer to your question, I believe, funneled through CAC of SMATS, the needs of the area as they exist today, not twenty years ago, can be effectively heard.

(Roy Shepard)

We have had a few rough beginnings and we are still trying to take a formative stand as best we can with starting principles that we are working with so far. One of the things I would like to do here today is for those of you in the public who are interested in continuing in the participation in the local transportation planning process and to represent, not only yourself individually, but groups of which you are an active member, we would very much like to have you attend our public meeting, bring with you the projected programs, ideas, goals, and objectives. Review them, if you will, and let us adopt for ourselves those projects which we wish to recommend to the SMATS organization as being our interests in formulating projects for funding and to see them go through.

MRS. GEORGE BISHOPRIC,
Member, Sarasota Planning Commission

I am not an expert on traffic or Planning but a concerned citizen who serves by appointment by the City Commission. I suppose my most important qualification is that I have lived in Sarasota for 22 1/2 years and watched over the City in its growth.

While we watched our population grow at a large and alarming rate, it is true that the automobile population has grown even faster and that has made many changes in our lives and every urban community. We lose more and more green areas to pavement and asphalt, we have more noise, more pollution and I think not the least of the problems is that we perhaps lost some sense of community. People who ride about their daily duties, one per car, certainly don't have that contact with their fellow citizens which used to be a part of urban life.

I believe this is a fine City to study citizen input because we have so much of it in Sarasota and on a very large scale and I am sure most of you remember some of the tremendous meetings that went on in late 1960's where the Sarasota City Hall was so overrun that the meetings had to be moved to the Van Wezel or the Exhibition Hall and these were not just masses of people but they were thoughtful, concerned, articulate people and they really made a difference in the direction the City was moving and made an enormous contribution to the quality of our life here.

Many were concerned with the rezoning of South Lido and you now enjoy a public property at the South end of Lido which would have been a concrete jungle with enormous contributions to the traffic problem on St. Armands and Ringling Causeway.

In our zoning code for the City which was adopted in 1974 there were various specific provisions made for getting opinions from the public and mostly these apply to rezoning that we hear. I wish we could have some of these same provisions in traffic planning so we could get input at an early stage. In our City Planning Board policies, we have public hearings which are required, advertised well in advance, the adjacent property owners are notified by letter, signs are posted on this affected property so that even passers-by are aware of the proposed changes. I wonder if it would be too much red tape to have this same sort of notice put in, for instance, changing classification of a major street or minor collector. Decisions are very difficult for people in a public position and it is helpful to feel before we made a decision that all the evidence is in. We have had several capacity crowds turn out at Planning Board hearings in the last couple of years and that is very gratifying. One of our largest turn - outs was for the project "TRAFFIC" which Dr. Dickinson brought before us. We listened to a lengthy list of proponents and opponents of this program. And the Planning Board had done an extensive study on this area and Planning Board members gave an enormous amount of attention to it. It is impossible to please everybody but we hope that we came up with the fairest recommendations that are possible. One of our major concerns there, of course, is whenever you shut traffic off of one street, you have so many other streets affected and they have to be considered also.

As to citizen input which does not come through, in 1974 we had a Special Exception petition where an enthusiastic petitioner presented drawings of a parking lot which extended into a residential area. Not one neighboring property owner came out or wrote a letter or indicated in any way that they were opposed. However, when the same petition came before the City Commission, because we are only an Advisory Body and we had recommended that, about 25 or 30 irate citizens came charging in and objecting. I think we felt a little betrayed because had we known that, we would have made a different decision that they would have been much happier with.

I think we are very fortunate in Sarasota to have elected and responsible officials, both at the City and County level. They are always accessible, are willing to listen and are very intelligent people.

I might also add that the Government in the Sunshine Law is the most enormous protection to any citizen who is trying to keep informed on development in this City.

In closing, I can't resist some input of my own to the men from the Florida Department of Transportation that will help our neighborhood traffic and that is I-75 Now.

MR. TED SPERLING,
Commissioner, Sarasota City Commission

Woody pointed out in his portion of the discussion that the decision making process had to be examined and he offered some advice as to how that decision making process might be implemented. It reminds me of an old story because it has to do with a very simple observation about decision. You examine the problem and then you apply common sense and you get a decision.

One of the observations that I want to make is that highway engineers and planners, particularly highway engineers, are concerned with vehicles and moving traffic. Homeowners are interested in their families, their property and their neighbors. They have this peculiar habit of attempting to know their problems within their neighborhood more intimately than do the highway engineers or the planners and very often, despite their lack of individual professional planning or engineering experience, may be capable of better solutions to those problems than the professionals. And I think that is part of the problem, that is not to be able to walk around in the academic discussion about input and neighborhood interaction in this conference today. Because what we face realistically is a neighborhood with a specific problem and that neighborhood may only go to local government, not State government, in order to try to resolve the problem. And it has faced a situation in which because the problem has become difficult. In other words, it affects other than only one constituency within the City and within the community. That has been batted back and forth to nobodys satisfaction to this point. Part of what a local municipality and its Legislative Body might goalong with its planners and perhaps with the assistance of citizens of County and State people, is to adopt one other important view in relationship to problems that are knotty and don't have anyones best interest, and that of course is to experiment. We all like to think that we have had a problem and review them, we are experts and the

fact is that in almost every instance no matter how finite the terms that we pump into the problem and look for a solution, we do not know exactly what the results are going to be. It seems to me to be only the matter of applied intelligence to direct problems of this sort are experimented with. And one of the major difficulties that we have had in relationship to this specific problem that really has established this conference. The Orange Avenue-Osprey Traffic Problem relates directly to the effect that up to this point, the City Commission has been unwilling to experiment. And what it has done finally is to put into operation a massive $50,000 study which will be City-wide that will pertain not only to the Orange Avenue-Osprey problem but to other neighborhood traffic problems because it at least has become convinced that the problem there is one that is duplicated in every area and in every neighborhood in the City. Somewhere perhaps the concept is sunk through that the City is not just a group of people and buildings but is a collection of neighborhoods inhabited by different people with different problems and with different needs.

I would like to conclude with the hope that during the seminar session this afternoon we will be able to eliminate, together as a panel, some of these problems.

One other observation and one other point. We are really faced, I think, with a question. And that question is this, does an existing stable well defined residential neighborhood anywhere in any city, plagued with the problems from an outside source, does that City and does that neighborhood have the right to expect its City government will respond to the problem and then have the backbone to make a decision to remedy that problem, based upon the selection of one of several reasonable and professionally evaluated alternatives, any one of which may seriously inconvenience persons from outside the neighborhood? The answer is the question.

I would like to leave you with the thought I had that I hope our City Commission will have, and I hope other Boards from the State Highway Department on down will consider and that is to solve. When you serve the public interests, problems should be opportunities.

MR. ANDREW SANDEGREN,
Commissioner, Sarasota County Commission

I have a high regard for many of you that I know personally and I appreciate your being here and I hope that I can lend a little to this effort. I want to draw a few comparisons in the Federal and State government. You have the Legislative, the Executive and the Judicial branches of government.

In times past the whole operation of the Sarasota County Commission or any County Commission in the State for that matter, the Commissioners had very little responsibility, they were charged with building roads where somebody asked them to or made them, they were charged with putting in culverts where they were required or where they thought they needed them and they were required to check the fence posts to be sure they had been properly creosoted. That was really the sum and substance of their duties. Whether it is due to efficiency, communication or transportation or whatever else that has happened, there has been quite an evolution in this manner.

As late as in the 1960's the County Commission had no Ordinance making powers, anything that was to be decided by Ordinance had to be done in the State Legislature. I remember serving on the Planning Commission in the 1950's and the County Commissioners problem of getting things done always had to be done through the legislative delegation. We were at the mercy of whoever we elected as representatives or we were benefited by them as you can judge. But in those days the legislators had a lot more powers than they do now. For instance, North Port and the City of Longboat Key were both established by the actions of the delegation, two representatives from this County and the Senator.

Since the 1971 Charter has been adopted and this County operates under the Charter form of government, we no longer are limited to roads, culverts and the dipping of fence posts in creosote. We are no longer limited to the similar federal and state legislative, executive and judicial departments. We can now formulate and adopt our own County Ordinances any of which apply to the whole county, including the municipalities especially if they agree to it. We act as the executive body. We do so by ministering the Ordinances we have formulated and adopted.

It has been inferred by some of the speakers before me that we are not experts, actually a County Commissioner or any other officer in the City or anywhere else is elected because of his vote getting ability but once elected he is charged with a lot of things that call for expertise. He may be just a generalist but he has to be responsible for such things as regulating utilities, rate making, handling of personal matters and community matters and I think most of the electorate depend upon the elected officials and believe that once they have been elected they are the ones to take care of things.

I can repeat the consideration that I have for the apathy on the part of the public, I wish that in our County Commission people would take more active interest and attend our meetings more. I commend those who do come before us, the League of Women Voters have put a lot of study into this matter and I applaud their efforts.

The one thing that seems to be the stumbling block in mass transit is dollars. We, as the County Commission, have expended a lot of effort in trying to adopt a mass transit program and it always comes down to one answer and that is how to finance it, who is going to fund it. We have had one study that was almost ready for referendum but we discovered that because it was affected by the guidelines set down by the Federal Government, the funding of which we were hoping would come from there, that even with the funding, even with the best wishes of the Federal government and even to furnishing the busses, that the overhead and the operational matters pertaining to that effort would cost the County approximately one-half million dollars the first year and then it would have gone up from there to figures that we didn't believe the people of Sarasota County were ready to underwrite. It seems we who own automobiles and can get to the locations we need to without mass transit, will vote down any effort by the community to do it on a tax basis. We did try a referendum one time to add one cent tax to gasoline and this was voted down 9 to 1. I am very sympathetic to a movement to establish mass transit.

DR. POSEY
Sarasota County Civic League

I agree with what Mr. Sandegren said in respect to mass transit and I want to refer to the title of this conference, "Highways and Humans". The automobile has worked an absolute revolution in our nation. Our governmental agencies have not kept up with this revolution. At present a person can live anywhere and work anywhere which means that the boundaries of municipalities as they existed fifty years ago are now meaningless. What effect or how does this effect this year? Let's look, for example, at the matter of planning. We have a City Planning Commission and a County Planning Commission. So it is perfectly clear that what planning exists here should be county-wide. I am very happy to see Jim Pierce, now chairman of the City Planning Commission, as a member of the County Planning Commission as well. Maybe that means we are going to achieve the coordination in planning that has not characterized this area up to now.

The Mayor of Cincinnati just this last year complained publicly that Cincinnati was a sick city. He complained because he said the suburbs are robbing the city of the business that the central city at one time had and after reading this I noticed that that sort of complaint is taking place all over the United States. One thing I feel a little sad about, in respect both to this conference and the Sarasota area itself, is that I don't think that we are looking at what is going on in other places. This is not a unique problem in Sarasota, it is going on all over the country. And yet we are not seeing what some of the really tantalizing ingenious solutions have been elsewhere. May I say that Sarasota County Civic League, of which I am President, has appointed a Committee headed by Professor Benedetti here to look at what is going on elsewhere. We need to get the blinders off and see what the real possibilities are. I don't know that we would come to any other conclusion but I certainly suspect that we need to look at this with perspective.

MR. DANIEL O'CONNELL
Attorney, Tallahassee, Florida

I have just been appointed to the Leon County/Tallahassee Planning Commission which is a joint Commission and I can't wait to take on my responsibilities to start working the tails off of the Planning staff there to comply with the existing law so that I can improve the decisions that are going to be made in Leon County. It's our job to make responsible decisions and planning should contribute toward that by really doing effective hard work and really full time continuous work by planning agencies.

If I were here, I would be working Paul and Woody and everybody else to improve our information by involving as many people that want to participate so that our information is improved so our dicisions can be made better.

So my comment on this citizen participation thing is that from the standpoint of an elected official, the system doesn't work if you allow any law to atrophy. I intend to really effectively utilize all of the planning tools and all the Planning staff to maximize their work, at least eight hours a day, and I will be working with them.

REPORT OF THE AFTERNOON SESSION--Group #1
by Peter Butzin

Bob Benedetti presented some conclusions from a recent study of the impact of neighborhood associations on the Sarasota political process.

(1) Associations seem to be better known and more effective at the county rather than the city level.
(2) A sizeable number of elected officials are members of neighborhood assiciations.
(3) Transportation is a more important topic at the city rather than at the county level.
(4) The neighborhood associations are considered both effective and representative by public officials, most of whom consult with these groups.
(5) Elected officials do not support decentralization of power in favor of the Neighborhood Associations (only appointed attorneys favored the idea).
(6) The appointed officials were more aware of lobbying from neighborhood associations than elected officials.
(7) Both elected and appointed officials agree that associations should lobby as needed.

Professor Benedetti has found that local government is certainly open to input from neighborhood associations. He concluded that their impact is more related to expertise than to the number of people represented.

After his conclusions, discussion opened to consideration of several questions relating to the impact and effectiveness of neighborhood associations. Should the neighborhood association become a viable governmental entity in local government in a more formal way? Is its impact simply reactive to common problems, or can the neighborhood association deal with planning larger questions of community concern? Is political involvement through the neighborhood association simply for the purpose of finding solutions to specific problems, or is it a process for becoming literate in citizen participation skills?

Several participants (particularly those associated with government) felt that citizens were more apathetic than alienated. They suggested that perhaps citizen participation is not an overwhelmingly popular topic because citizens feel that their governments are working satisfactorily.

We also discussed the problem of neighborhood associations being too parochial to provide a lasting and penetrating forum for formulation of social public policy.

Next we turned to a discussion of both principles and techniques of citizen participation skills. My remarks are attached.

(The following remarks were presented in the afternoon session by Peter Butzin, Executive Director of Common Cause/Florida)

Millard Fillmore, our 13th President, has always had difficulty hanging onto a place in American History. If he's going to be remembered for anything, I suspect it will be for his quote, "God help the people, for it is obvious that they're not going to help themselves."

There are over 250,000 citizens in this country who are proving Millard Fillmore wrong. Those people have a good deal of stamina and spirit. During the last few years they have been bringing on a quiet revolution to the state and national governments' openness, accountability and responsiveness to the people as opposed to the special interests. These are the members of Common Cause.

This afternoon I would like to discuss some principles of citizen participation learned in our six-year history.

My first bit of advice encourages you to see beyond the parts to the whole. American government today can be described as a war of the parts against the whole. Take transportation planning as an example. In any community, special interests advocating varying plans and methods will be battling for a piece of the pie. The process for planning for a sound transportation systems will be paralyzed unless individuals and organizations can see beyond the ends of their noses. "Divide and conquor" has been a handy tool against neighborhood associations. Unless groups with similar goals can covenant together for a total policy, their participation toward planning that policy will be stymied.

Second, choose your target carefully. Don't try to "take on the world." Be sure your objectives are both sound and reasonable. The successful citizen lobbyist diagnoses the problem and then prescribes a remedy to that problem. If the real stumbling block is the Department of Transportation, parading through the mayor's office will be no more effective than Pepto-Bismol for a headache.

Moreover, remember that process determines substance. If Common Cause were to have a motto, that would be it. Admittedly, we have not become very directly involved in transportation planning, particularly at the local level. We were instrumental in encouraging Congress to free federal highway trust funds to develop a total system for transportation instead of just interstate highways. But don't be too disappointed. Common Cause has been involved in broader questions which have an important impact on what we are doing at today's conference. But what happens if the process is so archaic, so unmovable, so bogged down that substantive issues can't be dealt with in an open, responsive and accountable way which takes the public interest as seriously as the special interest groups? We're working on that process by supporting legislation for stronger financial disclosure, lobby disclosure, public financing of elections and open meetings.

But process determines substance in another way. People in government know how to manipulate rules and procedures to their own advantage. I suggest you learn those rules and procedures so you can identify how they can manipulate an issue and so you can use them to your own advantage.

My last suggestion is that you avoid seeing both issues and personalities as "right" versus "wrong", or "we--the good guys," versus "they--the bad guys." If our first motto is "process determines substance," a good runner-up would be "no permanent friends, no permanent enemies--only permanent issues."

There is an old Chinese proverb: "You can't keep the birds of sorrow from flying over your head; but you can keep them from building nests in your hair." Let me suggest some techniques for citizen participation which may help you to keep the birds of sorrow from building nexts in your hair.

Build a political constituency--a membership. The conserted action of many people will be much more powerful than voices from the wilderness of a single individual. There are three kinds of people in the world: those who watch things happen, those who make things happen, and those--who after all is said and done--ask, "what in the world happened?" It's obviously the second kind of people who are going to have an impact on transportation planning.

Use the media skillfully--not to gain publicity for your organization, but to make news and to share that news with the press.

Build coalitions. Don't become enmeshed in the internal politics of coalitions, but identify your friends and work together toward common goals.

Develop skills necessary to sustain most any voluntary association. These include matching tasks to an individual's skills and interest, involving all those who wish to be involved, and encouraging volunteers to see how their small task fits into the total picture.

I'd also suggest you develop some lobbying skills. Know your issue. Provide information to those who are setting policy. Don't guess at answers to questions. Never threaten or argue. Be public in your praises for supporters of your position.

In conclusion, I'd like to whole-heartedly agree with Greg Phifer's advice from the morning session that you don't scorn politics. Politics is fun. Common Cause has never attempted to remove politics from politics, but only to remove the rascals from politics. Membership in any voluntary association from Common Cause to a neighborhood group can be a non-proprietary apathy cure--a tonic for the embattered citizen tax-payer. I invite you to take a deep swig of that tonic, gird yourselves for battle, develop stamina, add lots of spirit, and your next attempt to make a dent in public policy may just be historic in its consequences. That's been our experience; it may just be yours.

GROUP #2

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS by David LaHart

There are few examples of the singlemindedness of government that bring more problems than highways. Highways cover our natural environment with heat-absorbing asphalt and are themselves a pollutant. The automobile for which they are designed is a dirty, noisey, inefficient, dangerous mode of transportation. Highways divide neighborhoods, creating social, economic and healthy problems.

Highways concentrate pollutants, disrupt our daily lives and make us more subservient to OPEC, while upsetting the international balance of payments.

Technological man can no longer afford this singlemindedness. He must look to systems, natural and man-made systems tied together by dwindling energy supplies.

The question we wish to address deals with formulating the kind of public policy that takes a systems approach. Our focus is on transportation but what we say can apply to every major environmental change.

Comments by the Group

This group identified several skills using case studies to illustrate their points.

Learning where to provide input was identified as a key skill and the group feeling was input should be applied to all planning and all decision making levels. By providing a clear public record of support/opposition to a particular issue, firm legal grounds can be established.

Knowing what is happening is another skill. In the final analysis, it is the responsibility of an alert citizenry to present their side of a particular issue. Newspaper, newsletters, and conversation were identified as key methods of obtaining information.

Knowing who is involved in a particular issue is often critical. Take time to learn about your friends and opponents. Knowing where people "come from" is a key to understanding their current needs.

To effectively communicate, you need to know the language. Jargon is an important part of establishing credibility. Once you have mastered their language, it's easier to develop a two-way dialogue.

Know what questions to ask and keep asking them. Repeating the same questions to several individuals provides unique insights. Remember you're only going to learn what you ask, so ask often!

GROUP #3

DANIEL W. O'CONNELL REMARKS ON CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN TRANSPORTATION PLANNING

I. Florida's Path to Creeping Citizenship

a) The good old days are reflected in 1925 special act of the Florida Legislature establishing the city of Coral Gables. The legislature by law appointed the first five members with four year terms, including the famous developer of Coral Gables, George E. Merrick.

b) The process slightly opens to citizens in Chapter 163, Part II. Whereby the Florida Legislature required before adoption of comprehensive plans there be a public hearing held with due public notice by the Commission. Due public notice however only meant publication in the newspaper twice before adopting the plan.

c) A new day for citizen participation.

1) The Environmental Land Management Study Committee noted in its final report that under existing law "No requirement exists for active citizen participation beyond traditional notice and public hearing." In their recommended Local Government Conprehensive Planning Act of 1974 a special provision was placed in the draft legislation which "Stresses the necessity for public participation in the preparation stage of planning."

2) The 1975 Legislature enacted into law the Local Government Comprehensive Planning Act of 1975 with the following provision on citizen participation: "The governing body still establish procedures for providing effective public participation in the comprehensive planning process and particularly in the preparation of the comprehensive plan or element or portion thereof. The procedure shall provide for broad dissemination of proposals and alternatives, opportunity for written comments, public hearings after due public notice, provisions for open discussion, communications programs, information services, and consideration of and response to public comments."

3) The 1976 Legislature amended the 1975 law to add additional and more specific requirements for notice and citizen participation. See F.S. 163-3181, Chapter 76-155 (CS/SB No. 35 and 37)

d) Conclusion - active citizen participation is not only encouraged but required by Florida law for local governments.

II. Transportation Planning in Florida

a) The Local Government Comprehensive Planning Act requires each local government unit to adopt by 1979 a Local Government Comprehensive Plan with a traffic circulation element. F.S. 163-3177 (6) (b) and 163.3177 (7) (a) 2 (d).

b) The State Comprehensive Planning Act of 1972, Chapter 23, is currently in the process of presentation to the Florida Legislature. Various elements of the state plan, including a transportation element, were discussed in five public meetings throughout the state of Florida in the fall of 1976. Once adopted the State Comprehensive Plan will be state policy and all state agency budgets must be prepared consistent with the state plan.

c) The Federal Law is quite specific as to citizen participation in urban transportation planning. The relationship of metropolitan planning organizations to this process is discussed in two recent Florida Attorney General's Opinions: 077-15 and 077-16. See also Land Use Controls In the United States - a Handbook on the Legal Rights of Citizens by the Natural Resources Defense Council, Inc. (1977), in particular Chapter 10 on Transportation Facilities.

d) Information on preparation of the Traffic circulation element of the Local Government Comprehensive Plan and its relationship to the state and federal programs can be further understood by going to: A Local Official's Guide To The Local Government Comprehensive Planning Act, a publication dated September 1976 by the Florida State Department of Community Affairs (Chapter 9.)

e) Other suggested reference materials on citizen participation

1) Citizen Involvement in Land Use Governance - Issues and Methods by Nelson M. Rosenbaum, The Urban Institute, 1976

2) A publication by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency entitled "Don't Leave It All To the Experts - A Citizen's Role in Environmental Decision Making."

SOME THOUGHTS RELATIVE TO THE INTERACTION OF HUMANS AND HIGHWAYS
Bill Hammond

The school system is a place where both future and present voters in K-12 and adult programs should be gaining an understanding as to how transportation affects their lives and how, in turn, each person affects community transportation systems.

Local history should begin with the focus of why Sarasota became a town in the first place - how transportation as it evolved from water to rail to highway has shaped and moved the community's focus and very being.

Students of all ages need to know how to affect change in our democratic society - how to lobby positively and effectively, how to use mass media, how to utilize a force field analysis of the supportive and opposing issue factors, how to synthesize support from a diverse community base.

These skills are being taught and practiced by students.

We have seen students be catalysts for getting major highway alignments changed, inadequate culverts replaced by bridges, bicycle paths included in highway plans, scenic and beautification restrictions implemented as part of their environmental studies program.

They have accomplished these things by following good general techniques for being effective change agents in our society.

They have had to begin by becoming knowledgeable about their total community and the elected, bureaucratic, civic, and social people who affect change in the community.

A list of things to think about in developing your own skills in creating a positive relationship between highways and humans is summarized:

You must be knowledgeable, take a positive position, and, above all, be persistent.

Never be against something - be for a feasible alternative or series of alternatives.

Build a community support base for your cause.

Do your homework. Know the County of City 5 year-10 year-20 year thoroughfare plans - how they are to be financed, etc.

Know who the engineering consultants to your target group (local D.O.T.) are and cultivate a helpful positive input at that level.

Know the environmental and neighborhood problems in your community.

Don't lose sight of the big picture view of things.

Deal with individuals as people, not as bureaucratic officials - be human and try to kinder human cooperation. Interact with issues - don't challenge people and their egos.

Build a trust level with change agent people by dealing honestly, fairly, consistently, and confidently. Remember trust takes time.

Seek out and propose alternative plans which you can demonstrate are economically feasible.

Be an advocate for good D.O.T. programs and deeds and a formidable opponent for bad ones.

Don't be a meddler or pest when you interact or have a position to express. Do it from a well thought out, documented position of positive logic and strength. Be persistent but stay out of the day to day way of busy officials and bureaucrats.

When dealing with roads know who owns the property along the right of way always and you often can anticipate the D.O.T.'s positions.

Don't embarrass professional or public officials publicly to make a short term gain. They won't ever forget it, even when they know they deserved it! You won't win in the long run.

Form coalitions. Use citizen "experts" and remember common sense and and practical experience will often offset so-called technical data smoke screens.

Get your own local experts - they are in your community citizenry.

Again, don't be against something - be a strong advocate for a logical feasible solution.

Know what you are unwilling to compromise and what you can give on.

Utilize the media carefully to develop a positive offensive posture.

Don't make rash statements you can't back up, and, above all, recognize you must make a major commitment of your time to succeed. If you use good common sense techniques, you'll win in the long run.

A strong advocacy position is generally an immediate issue or project oriented posture. A cooperative position is generally a long term strategy that must be worked at continually.

Group #4

The fourth afternoon group spent considerable time discussing the ethical convlicts involved in "self-interest" and "the common good (or public interest)" considerations which are part of decision-making on transportation planning. It was suggested that transportation planning procedures currently result in a failure to compute and to assess the social environmental costs of transportation policies--thus making current practices seem economically reasonable and mass transit alternatives seem outrageously expensive. Currently, individuals pay the social/environmental costs for programs which benefit the larger community. For example, persons living near an airport which has greatly expanded with jet planes over the past ten years pay the costs, while air travellers get the benefits. There is no policy to compensate for the quality of life losses--only costs are those involved in airport expansion. Similarly, in widening and upgrading neighborhood streets into major traffic arteries, the quality of life costs are absorbed by persons living in those neighborhoods. The only cost assigned by planners and political leaders are those of right-of-way purchase and actual construction. These, of course, are not the real costs, but the current practice makes traditional transportation practices seem relatively inexpensive. In this context, transportation cost analysis is not unlike the cost-analysis ethos employed by Southern plantation owners in a slave system!

David Gruender described the experience of transportation planning in Tallahassee and the procedures used by neighborhood groups who opposed a massive street widening plan. He drew conclusions from that experience--including the point that individuals could accomplish little alone, that they had to ben together in neighborhood associations, and that those neighborhood associations had to present a united front on each and every segment of the street plan.

Sarasota participants noted that the problem in their area was not the lack of citizen input or access to officials--but there were no clear solutions to the transportation problem. They wanted alternative ways to cope with the problem. It was agreed that information about the experiences and solutions discerned by other cities would be a useful basis for further meetings in Sarasota.

APPENDIX A — PUBLICITY

For this Conference publicity began with the distribution of press releases upon receipt of the notification of funding. Programs were sent to the editors of three newsletters. Press releases went out to newspaper editors with a follow-up mailing a month later. Brief spot announcements were sent twice to radio and television stations in the Sarasota service area.

Three thousand brochures were distributed to banks, bookmobiles, government offices, colleges, community groups and agencies. Sixty-five community organizations received special letters inviting their representatives to participate. And on three days before the Saturday Conference ads appeared in the Sarasota newspapers.

PROJECT TRAFFIC
Doctors Gardens Building, Suite 301
1880 Arlington Street
Sarasota, Florida 33579

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

HIGHWAYS AND HUMANS CONFERENCE

Traffic and Neighborhood Planning in the Sarasota area will be the topics for a one-day conference on the campus of New College, Saturday, February 19th. The program includes comments by city and county commissioners, planners, and the respresentatives of various civic groups.

The conference will provide opportunities to discuss planning issues and to identify a variety of citizen participation skills needed to cope with traffic and transportation planning.

"In an era when government has been criticized for being 'insensitive,'" a spokesman for "Project Traffic," said, "it is easy to forget that to Thomas Jefferson local government was the bulwark of democracy. Today, we need to remember our ideals and to encourage one another to be active in governmental affairs." The February 19th conference is designed to encourage such citizen participation.

There is no registration fee and the public is invited to participate in the full day of activities.

For additional information, contact

Project Traffic
Suite 301, 1880 Arlington Street
Sarasota, FL 33579
958-5519

PROJECT TRAFFIC
DOCTORS GARDENS BUILDING, SUITE 301
1600 ARLINGTON STREET
SARASOTA, FLORIDA 33579

PUBLIC SERVICE ANNOUNCEMENT

HIGHWAYS AND HUMANS CONFERENCE

Transportation planning in the Sarasota area will be the topic for a one-day conference on the campus of New College, Saturday, February 19th.

The conference is designed to provide dialogue among public officials and citizens and will include comments by city and county commissioners and members of planning departments in the Sarasota area.

The conference begins at 9:00AM and the public is urged to attend.

Further information is available from:

"Project Traffic," 958-5519

PROJECT TRAFFIC
Suite 301, 1880 Arlington Street
Sarasota, Florida 33579

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
January 30, 1977

TRAFFIC MEETING IS SET

A meeting is set Saturday for public officials and private citizens to seek ways to work together in planning transportation facilities and in protecting neighborhoods.

The sessions begin at 9:00AM at the Hamilton Complex Center, New College, and continue all day. SMATS coordinator Sherwood Hiller, County Commissioner Andrew Sandegren, City Commissioner Ted Sperling, and others will meet with representatives of citizen groups for the talks.

The purpose of the meeting is to discover ways that citizens can affect policy decisions on such matters as highway planning and neighborhood zoning.

Saturday, February 19, 1977
Teaching Auditorium, Hamilton
Center Complex, University of
South Florida, Sarasota

For Further Information, call:

"Project Traffic" 958-5519

Letter Sent to the 25 members of the SMATS Citizen Advisory Committee: January 24th, 1977

On Saturday, February 19th, "Project Traffic" is sponsoring a conference on traffic, neighborhood development, and citizen input skills for the public planning process. Mr. Sherwood Hill, SMATS coordinator, and Mr. Rick Hall, Florida Department of Transportation, are two of the main speakers. Panelists include Mr. Ted Sperling, Sarasota City Commission, and Mr. Andrew Sandegren, Vice-Chairman, Board of County Commissioners of Sarasota County.

The conference will be held in the Teaching Auditorium, Hamilton Center Complex, New College. We will begin at 9:00 AM, with sessions concluding about 3:15 PM.

As a member of the Citizens Advisory Committee of the Sarasota/Manatee Area Transportation Study, we want to extend a cordial invitation to participate in the conference and the afternoon discussion sessions. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me (904) 644-5769, or Dr. Thomas G. Dickinson, M.D., Project Traffic (813) 958-5519.

We hope that you will be able to accept our invitation. We look forward to your participation in the conference.

Sincerely,

Rodney F. Allen
426 Hull Drive
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

RFA:eg

College of Education
Area of Instructional Design
and Personnel Development
Program of Science and
Human Affairs
Science Education
Social Studies Education

The Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

February 3, 1977

On Saturday, February 19th, "Project Traffic" is sponsoring a conference on traffic, neighborhood development, and citizen input skills for the public policy process. Mr. Sherwood Hiller, SMATS coordinator, and Mr. Rick Hall, Florida Department of Transportation, are two of the main speakers. Panelists include Mr. Ted Sperling, Sarasota City Commission, and Mr. Andrew Sandegren, Vice-Chairman, Board of County Commissioners of Sarasota County.

The conference will be held in the Teaching Auditorium, Hamilton Center Complex, New College. We will begin at 9:00 AM, with sessions concluding about 3:15 PM.

We want to extend a cordial invitation to your organization to send representatives to participate in the conference. If you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me (904) 644-5769, or Dr. Thomas G. Dickinson, M.D., Project Traffic (813) 958-5519.

We hope that you will be able to accept our invitation. We look forward to your participation in the conference.

Sincerely,

Rodney F. Allen
426 Hull Drive
Florida State University
Tallahassee, Florida 32306

RFA:eg

The conception of an open, participatory society was an ideal of the Founding Fathers and a dream of the many immigrants who came to America before and after the seedtime of our republic. Today, questions about the extent and efficacy of citizen input on public policy decisions swirl about our basic institutions. On the national level, these questions are most often associated with Watergate. On the state level, the vociferous cries of legislators, both "liberal" and "conservative," focus upon phantom government, unresponsive bureaucracies, and the plethora of "in-triplicate" procedures.

Local government, while a Jeffersonian ideal, is not immune to the labels of "unresponsive" and "insensitive." Citizens wonder about how they can provide meaningful input on local policy decisions. What can be done to increase effective participation? What rules, procedures, and institutions need to be changed to broaden citizen participation? What attitudes to citizens and their officials are dysfunctional to an open, active society? What knowledge and skills do citizens need to gain access to policy formulators and to have an effective voice in government?

This one-day intensive conference deals with a local policy issue and focuses upon citizen skills. Transportation planning in Sarasota is the local issue, which includes debates over traffic flow and debates over what neighborhood integrity should mean for the city. The debate is a continuing one involving almost all sectors of the population and all levels of government.

"HIGHWAYS AND HUMANS" is designed to provide **dialogue** among four types of persons: 1) those practitioners of citizen participation skills on both sides of the issue, 2) government officials involved in policy decisions, 3) the general public, and 4) academic humanists from a variety of disciplines (e.g., history, philosophy, speech communication, ethics, and religion). While government officials and civic leaders have taken positions, the thrust of this conference is **not** to provide a forum for those who agree or disagree. The thrust is to identify the variety of citizen participation skills which are needed to cope with such issues, to see which skills were used (and by whom), and which were effective or found wanting in this situation. The hope is that increasing numbers of citizens, of various persuasions, will get involved in public policy issues and develop their own techniques and skills for affecting decisions.

There is no registration fee.

The conference is funded by the Florida Endowment for the Humanities. It is co-sponsored by the Orange/Osprey Avenues Neighborhood Association; the Division of Social Sciences, University of South Florida-Sarasota; and the Environmental Education Project, Florida State University; and planned with the cooperation of various civic organizations and agencies.

FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION, CONTACT:

Suite 301, 1880 Arlington Street
Sarasota, Florida 33579

Highways and Humans

A CONFERENCE ON EFFECTIVE CITIZEN IN-PUT SKILLS FOR TRANSPORTATION PLANNING

Teaching Auditorium, Hamilton Center Complex, east side of the University of South Florida-Sarasota campus
Saturday, February 19, 1977
8:30 a.m. to 3:30 p.m.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM

8:30 AM

Coffee

9:00 AM

Welcome, Dr. Thomas G. Dickinson, Chairman, "Project Traffic," Orange Avenue/Osprey Avenue Neighborhood Association

The American Dream of An Open Society

Gregg Phifer, Professor, Department of Speech Communication, Florida State University

9:45 AM

Neighborhood Development: Citizen Participation Opportunities

Mr. Sherwood H. Hiller, Transportation Planning Coordinator, Sarasota/Manatee Area Transportation Study

Mr. Richard A. Hall, Tampa Bay Region Planning Engineer, Florida Department of Transportation

Questions and Answers

11:00 AM

Citizen Participation Requirements in Traffic Planning

Mrs. George Bischopric, Chairperson, Sarasota Planning Commission

Mr. Ted Sperling, Commissioner, Sarasota City Commission

Mr. Andrew Sandegren, Vice-Chairman, Board of County Commissioners, Sarasota County

Mr. Paul M. Segle, Planning Director — Community Development Coordinator, City of Sarasota

Dialogue with the Audience

12:30

Lunch

1:30 PM

Discussion Sessions in Small Groups

Conference participants may select one of the following groups. Each group has a discussion leader and resource persons available to provide insights on the issues.

GROUP #1 — Room H-2

Peter A. Butzin, Director
Common Cause — Florida

Robert Benedetti, Assistant Professor of Political Science
New College
University of South Florida

Hugh McPheeters, Jr., Attorney
Sarasota

Rick Hall

Gregg Phifer

Paul M. Segal

GROUP #2 — Room H-3

David E. LaHart
Science & Human Affairs Program
Florida State University

Mrs. Bernice Bish
League of Women Voters
of Sarasota County

Sherwood Hiller

Thomas G. Dickinson

GROUP #3 — Room H-4

Rodney F. Allen, Associate Professor
Science & Human Affairs Program
Florida State University

David Gruender, Professor
Department of Philosophy
Florida State University

Robert E. Mayer
Project Traffic

Andrew Sandegren

Mrs. George Bischopric

GROUP #4 — Room H-5

Daniel O'Connell, Attorney
Tallahassee

E.E. James, President
North County Civic Club

Lawrence J. Robinson, President
Sarasota Chamber of Commerce

William Hammond, Supervisor
Lee County Schools

Michael J. Garvey, President
Florida District, Civitan International

Ted Sperling

3:15 PM

Conference Summary and Evaluation

APPENDIX B: CONFERENCE HANDOUTS

Conference handouts included the National Endowment for the Humanities bibliography, and two position papers in the Challenge/Response series for the Bicentennial, published by the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the American Revolution Bicentennial Commision.

A Reading List on Democratic Theory

This reading list, another in the "Good Reading in the Humanities" series, was prepared by Thomas Scanlon, Associate Professor of Philosophy; Dennis Thompson, Associate Professor of Politics; and Nancy Weiss, Assistant Professor of History; all of Princeton University.

In recent years philosophers, historians and political scientists have shown an increased interest in examining the fundamental assumptions underlying the idea of democracy. Their inquiries have taken a number of different forms. There have been new analytical investigations of central notions such as justice, liberty, representation, and obligation, and studies of the historical origins and evolution of these notions. In addition, the current of the times has led to renewed theoretical interest in traditional issues which had been generally neglected by political theorists in the postwar period, issues such as civil disobedience, conscientious objection, the commitment of democracy to genuine citizen participation, and the ideological bias of prevailing ideas of democracy.

The works listed below represent the range of concerns that have engaged students of democratic theory in recent years. With the exception of Croly's critique of Jeffersonian liberalism, all of the works were published after 1960. Although they do not all agree in their approaches or their conclusions, these works demonstrate the possibility of reasoned discourse about the fundamental principles of democratic government. They thus represent a challenge to the once widely held view that rational discussion of the values of democracy is not possible.

Each of these works can be read independently. None requires substantial background in political theory, although the books by Rawls and Pitkin are somewhat more difficult than the others.

PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY, Terrence E. Cook and Patrick M. Morgan, editors. *San Francisco: Canfield Press, 1971. 486 pp. Available in paperback.*

This collection of readings provides a good introduction to the theoretical and practical problems of participatory democracy. While the first part of the book presents various theoretical perspectives, the bulk of the book consists of articles applying the principles of participatory democracy to community government, school decentralization, universities, industrial [illegible] ernment bureaucracies and legal systems.

THE PROMISE OF AMERICAN LIFE, Herbert Croly. *New York: The Macmillan Company, 1[illegible] 46[illegible] pp. Available in paperback.*

A leading intellectual of the Progressive Era, Croly argues for the use of Hamiltonian means—a strong active federal government—to achieve Jeffersonian ends: social justice, democracy, and world peace. "The Promise" is "an improving popular economic condition, guaranteed by democratic political institutions, and resulting in moral and social amelioration." Croly demonstrates historically how veneration of individual freedoms has stifled the fulfillment of the national promise by encouraging "an indiscriminate individual scramble" for wealth. The lesson he draws is that democracy and laissez-faire are incompatible in modern industrial society.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION? AUTHORITY IN A GOOD SOCIETY, Robert A. Dahl. *New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1970. 171 pp. Available in paperback.*

A distinguished political scientist examines the principles on which the authority of democratic government rests. After specifying criteria for judging democratic authority, he evaluates various forms that democratic government can take. He concludes by applying his principles to three current problems: the inequality of resources, the accountability of business corporations, and the remoteness of government.

THE DIMENSIONS OF LIBERTY, Oscar and Mary Handlin. *Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961. 204 pp. Available in paperback from Atheneum.*

In this brief volume the Handlins interpret the nature, evolution, and historical significance of liberty in the United States. Drawing on evidence from colonial times to the twentieth century, they explore the manifestations of liberty in three major areas: political structure, social mobility, and voluntary organizations. Particularly provocative themes include the relationship between liberty and the power of the state and the role of freedom in defining the American national identity.

FRONTIERS OF DEMOCRATIC THEORY, Henry S. Kariel, editor. *New York: Random House, 1970. 435 pp. Available in paperback.*

The traditional ideal of the democratic citizen as active, informed and public-spirited has come under

*National Endowment for the Humanities Newsletter, August, 1974, pp. 6-7.

attack in recent years by a group of theorists and social scientists, whom Professor Pateman labels "revisionists." They argue that this ideal is unrealistic and that it is undesirable as a goal. This collection presents some of the leading revisionist writings, along with examples of the traditional theories and more recent critiques of the revisionists.

PARTICIPATION AND DEMOCRATIC THEORY, Carole Pateman. *Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1970. 122 pp.*

Mrs. Pateman seeks to show how current elitist theories of democracy, popular among social scientists, distort the writings of traditional theorists such as Rousseau, Mill and G.D.H. Cole. Criticizing the view that political apathy is desirable and that an increase in citizen participation could threaten the stability of western democracies, she argues that participation is psychologically and educationally worthwhile. Two chapters are devoted to a discussion of the possibilities of democracy in industry.

THE CONCEPT OF REPRESENTATION, Hanna Fenichel Pitkin. *Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967. 323 pp. Available in paperback.*

Professor Pitkin explores the variety of uses that the concept of representation has had since Hobbes. By showing that contending theories of representation are each partial accounts of the concept, she seeks to elucidate or resolve certain controversies surrounding the concept, such as the "mandate-independence" controversy: must the representative do what his constituents want, or is he free to act as seems best to him in pursuit of their welfare?

THE CRISIS OF DEMOCRATIC THEORY: SCIENTIFIC NATURALISM & THE PROBLEM OF VALUE, Edward A. Purcell, Jr. *Lexington, Kentucky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1973. 272 pp.*

In this prize-winning monograph, Professor Purcell, an intellectual historian, looks at the effect of pragmatism and scientific naturalism on developments in philosophy, social sciences, and law after 1910, and examines the impact of those developments on traditional assumptions of democratic theory. He shows how democracy came under attack in the 1930s and how, in response, intellectuals began to develop "a broadly naturalistic and relativistic theory of democracy" that became transformed in the postwar era into an ideological defense of the status quo.

A THEORY OF JUSTICE, John Rawls. *Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971. 607 pp. Available in paperback.*

Rawls' theory of justice "generalizes and carries to a higher level of abstraction the familiar theory of the social contract as found, say, in Locke, Rousseau and Kant." In his book the idea of a hypothetical initial agreement is used not only as the basis for an account of political obligation but, more generally, as the basis for the development of principles of justice which provide a standard for the criticism of all the basic institutions of society.

OBLIGATIONS: ESSAYS ON DISOBEDIENCE, WAR AND CITIZENSHIP, Michael Walzer. *Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1970. 242 pp. In paperback from Simon and Schuster.*

Walzer believes that obligation requires consent in more than a formal sense. In his view, genuine political obligation must arise out of voluntary involvement in the shared goals and undertakings that constitute the life of a true community. In these stimulating and readable essays he develops this idea through investigations of various obligations, political and non-political, and the forms of association in which they arise, and he considers the implications of this idea for the grounds of obedience and disobedience in the modern state.

THE POVERTY OF LIBERALISM, Robert Paul Wolff. *Boston: Beacon Press, 1968. 200 pp. Available in paperback.*

Professor Wolff presents, from a radical perspective, a sharp critique of four ideas that are essential in liberal democratic thought: liberty, loyalty, power and tolerance. Wolff argues against liberalism that we "must give up the image of society as a battleground of competing groups and formulate an ideal of society more exalted than the mere acceptance of opposed interests and diverse customs." In his final chapter, he takes some tentative steps toward formulating that ideal in a "new philosophy of community."

1. Do all citizens have a right to equal participation in the institutions by which they are governed? Is increased political participation by citizens desirable and possible? What advantages and disadvantages for citizens and for government might come from greater participation? What reforms would be necessary to stimulate participation?
2. How can meaningful democratic rule be maintained in face of the inequalities of resources and the remoteness and complexity of government? Is there room for elites in a democracy? How can democratic societies cope with the increased power of non-governmental institutions such as corporations and unions?
3. Must liberal democratic theory be revised in light of the changed circumstances of our time? How (if at all) does the greater complexity of political decisions, the increased interdependence of individuals, cities and nations, and the widened influence of the mass media affect our theories of democracy?
4. Is there a special form of political obligation which binds all the citizens of a country and no others? If there is such an obligation, must (can) its origins be found in the citizens' past acts of consent? Must this obligation allow special exceptions for the exercise of individual conscience?
5. Under what conditions is the toleration of divergent views and practices a rational policy? What marks the limits of rational toleration? Must toleration always be toleration of recognized groups rather than of isolated, independent individuals?
6. What are the implications of a relativist theory of democracy for reform? For the defense of the status quo? □

PARTICIPANT LIST: SARASOTA HIGHWAYS & HUMANS CONFERENCE

Name:_____

Address:_____

_____zip_____

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